

**ISLAMIC LITERATURE
IN SPANISH AND ALJAMIADO**

MEDIEVAL IBERIAN PENINSULA

TEXTS AND STUDIES

(MIP)

EDITED BY

RACHEL ARIÉ AND HANS-RUDOLF SINGER

VOLUME VIII

ISLAMIC LITERATURE
IN SPANISH AND ALJAMIADO



ISLAMIC LITERATURE IN SPANISH AND ALJAMIADO

Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), His Antecedents and Successors

BY

GERARD WIEGERS



E.J. BRILL
LEIDEN · NEW YORK · KÖLN
1994

From 1987 until 1991 this study was supported by the Foundation for Research in the field of Theology and the Science of Religions in the Netherlands, which is subsidized by the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Research (NWO). Since 1992 its completion has been made possible by a fellowship of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

93-73662
CIP

ISSN 0076-6100
ISBN 90 04 09936 0

© Copyright 1994 by E.J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission of the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by E.J. Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to Copyright Clearance Center, 27 Congress Street, Salem MA 01970, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To Lucia and Hanke

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	xi
INTRODUCTION	1
 Chapter I: PREVIOUS STUDIES OF THE HISTORY OF ISLAMIC SPANISH LITERATURE AND THE ROLE OF YÇA OF SEGOVIA	 16
 Chapter II: THE EARLIEST TRACES OF ISLAMIC SPANISH LITERATURE IN AL-ANDALUS	 29
II.1. Oral and literary use of the Romance vernacular in al-Andalus at the time of the Party-Kings and the Almoravids	29
II.2. Oral and Literary use of Romance in al-Andalus during the domination of the Almohads and the transition to Mudejar Islam: The Spanish versions of Ibn Tū- mart's <i>Murshida</i>	40
II.2.1. The use of the Berber language under the Almohads	40
II.2.2. The Spanish translations of Ibn Tūmart's <i>Murshida</i>	43
 Chapter III: THE USE OF ROMANCE AS A MEDIUM OF WRITTEN EXPRESSION AMONG THE MUDEJARS UNTIL 1456	 47
III.1. Introduction	47
III.2. The involvement of the Mudejars in the transmission of learning	47
III.3. Islamic Spanish legal texts connected with the administration of Islamic law by the Christian authorities . . .	57
III.3.1. The <i>Leyes de Moros</i>	57
III.3.2. The <i>Llibre de la çuna e xara</i>	59
III.4. Spanish Mudejar texts meant to be read by Christians	61
III.5. Romance texts for 'internal' use	62
III.5.1. Dated MSS	62
III.5.2. Undated MSS	63
 Chapter IV: YÇA OF SEGOVIA: LIFE AND WORKS	 69

IV.1.	Introduction to the sources on Yça's life and works	69
IV.2.	The Mudejar community of Segovia and Mudejar Islam in 15th-century Castile	76
IV.2.1.	Place of the <i>aljama</i> and buildings	76
IV.2.2.	Professions	79
IV.2.3.	Demographic evidence	79
IV.2.4.	The Mudejars of Segovia and the Christian population . . .	80
IV.2.5.	The organization of the <i>aljama</i> and the judicial situation . .	82
IV.2.5.1	The <i>faqh</i>	82
IV.2.5.2	The <i>alcalde</i> and the <i>alcalde mayor</i>	84
IV.2.5.3	The <i>repartidores</i>	88
IV.2.6.	The religious climate	90
IV.3.	The authorship and origin of the Thirteen Articles of the Faith	92
IV.4.	The <i>Summariū super quolibet psalmorum alchurani</i> and the trilingual translation of the Qur'ān (1454-1456)	98
IV.5.	The <i>Breviario Sunni</i> (1462)	115
IV.5.1.	The extant MSS	115
IV.5.2.	The relationships between the MSS	121
IV.5.3.	The edition	123
IV.5.4.	The contents of the <i>Breviario Sunni</i>	124
IV.6.	The polemic between Yça and Juan López de Salamanca .	134
IV.7.	Yça Gidelli	142
IV.7.1.	Biographical Data	142
IV.7.2.	Name	143
IV.7.3.	Social position and career	145
IV.7.4.	Religious convictions	149

Chapter V: YÇA'S INFLUENCE ON ISLAMIC SPANISH LITERATURE . 151

V.1.	Introduction	152
V.2.	The <i>Tratado y Declaración y guía</i>	153
V.3.	The works of el Mancebo de Arévalo	161
V.3.1.	The <i>Breve Compendio de la santa ley i sunna</i>	161
V.3.2.	The <i>Tafsira</i>	171
V.3.3.	The <i>Sumario de la relación y ejercicio espiritual</i>	173
V.4.	Mohanmad Devera's compendium	175
V.5.	Muḥammad Rabadan's <i>Discurso de la Luz y descendencia y linaje claro de nuestro caudillo y bienaventurado annabi Muḥammad</i>	181

V.6.	The influence of Yça on Islamic Spanish literature written after the expulsion	184
Chapter VI: YÇA OF SEGOVIA AND THE HISTORY OF ISLAMIC SPANISH LITERATURE		197
VI.1.	The relationship between the Arabic and Spanish literary culture of the Muslims in Christian Spain	197
VI.2.	The authors of Islamic Spanish literature	203
VI.3.	The religious status of Islamic Spanish literature	205
VI.3.1.	Changes in al-Andalus and among the Mudejars	205
VI.3.2.	The Morisco period	209
VI.3.3.	The diaspora	212
SUMMARY		214
APPENDICES		223
Appendix 1: List of Islamic Spanish texts from Spain of which either the date or the author is known		223
Appendix 2. Letter of Yça to Juan de Segovia d.d. 24 April 1454 and English translation		230
Appendix 3. <i>Breviario Sunni</i> , prologue		236
Appendix 4. <i>Breviario Sunni</i> , chapter 58, “on the signs of the end of the present age”		240
Appendix 5. Madrid B.N. 5252: <i>T^{ra}tado i dek^alaraci^on i g^la para segir i mantener el-add^ln del-aliçlām</i> , f. 2v-34v		243
ABBREVIATIONS		266
BIBLIOGRAPHY		268
GENERAL INDEX		293

Preface

This book is a revision of the doctoral thesis which I prepared in the Faculty of Theology of Leiden University and which I defended on 10 June, 1991. Since 1991 continuous progress has been made in this particular field, research having been carried out by myself as well as others. This would have made it possible for me to bring the book entirely up to date, but I have chosen not to do so. It has remained essentially the same book, except for a few changes. I have first of all made some necessary corrections. I have furthermore introduced new views on three different points. In the first place, it appeared that there were more Islamic Spanish texts which had to be dated to the 14th century. I have subsequently included data on this subject borrowed from a recent article on this subject by P.S. van Koningsveld and myself. Secondly, in the course of further research I discovered the identity of 'fray Juan de Rokasia' and, finally, I identified the source of the seven Ages of the World, found in the *Breviario Sunni*.

Two transcription systems will be used throughout the present study. Arabic texts will be transcribed according to the system of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, except for the *qāf*, which will be represented by a 'q'. Aljamiado texts will be transcribed according to the original system of the *Colección de Literatura Española Aljamiado y Morisca* (= CLEAM, Madrid). This system is also used for the Arabic words found in the Aljamiado texts which had probably become part of the daily vocabulary of Hispanophone Muslims in Christian Spain: for example, *muçlim*, transcribed with a 'ç' instead of an 's'. Longer passages in Arabic in Aljamiado texts, however, are transcribed according to the EI² system.

In appendices 3 and 4 (the introduction and chapter 58 of the *Breviario Sunni*) the following signs are used in quotations based on a collation of J 1 and N 1: Words between { } are found in J 1 but not in N 1, words between < > in N 1, but not in J 1; words or phrases between * * indicate that a different passage is to be found in J 1, or -if mentioned explicitly- in one of the other manuscripts. If only a single footnote is given, there is only one corresponding word in J 1.

The present study could not have been written without the financial support of several institutions, of which the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Science (NWO) is the most important. A grant from the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs enabled me to prepare the initial stages in 1986-87. The Faculty of Theology financed several stays abroad. My present employer, the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) made it possible for me to prepare this new edition and to carry out the new research which has been included in it. I owe a debt of gratitude to many people. In the

first place I would like to thank my promotor, Prof. Dr L. Leertouwer. I am also grateful to Prof. Dr M. García-Arenal, who was willing to act as external examiner. Furthermore, I wish to thank the other members of the promotion commission: Prof. L.P. Harvey, M.A., D. Phil.; Prof. Dr H.J. de Jonge; Prof. Dr R. Kruk; Prof. Dr J. Lechner and Prof. Dr K. van der Toorn. I am truly grateful to Prof. H.J. de Jonge for the fact that in the course of my research he was willing to help me with the Latin sources. I would also like to thank all those who contributed to this study with their help and hospitality during my travels abroad. Mrs. T. Grimbergen, Mr. A. Domínguez, and Drs. A. Keller all offered me a hospitable roof for lengthy periods of time. I am grateful to Mr. H. Wiegers for his technical advice and assistance, and Dr G. W. Drost for our stimulating discussions. During the time that they worked at the department, my colleagues Prof. Dr H. L. Beck and Dr N.J.G. Kaptein made me quite aware of the importance of working within a research group by their collegiality. The collaboration of librarians, archivists, and other curators of valuable sources have been of invaluable importance. I would especially like to mention A. Miralles del Imperial of the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, R. Cantalejo of the Archivo Municipal de Segovia and I. Aguirre of the Archivo General de Simancas.

There are two people to whom I would specially like to express my gratitude. From the very beginning Prof. Dr P.S. van Koningsveld and Prof. Dr L.P. Harvey were beacons by which I could set my course, the latter being an 'external supervisor' who was always willing to welcome me into his home and to discuss whatever I put before him. Prof. Dr P.S. van Koningsveld has continuously been deeply involved in my researches, first as major subject supervisor, later as co-promotor and daily supervisor. I have always found his great enthusiasm and critical approach immensely stimulating. It is self-evident, however, that I am the only one responsible for the data this study has produced.

G.A. Wiegers, Leiden, 26 juni 1993

INTRODUCTION

Islamic literature in Spanish, or, as it will be designated in the present thesis, Islamic Spanish literature, has with good reason been called a literature of translations. Indeed the majority of the sources consist of translations from Arabic into Spanish¹. Islamic Spanish sources from Spain can be divided into three large categories: (a) works on religion (*fiqh*, *tafsīr*, prayer-books, pious miscellanea, religious polemics, magic, popular medicine, and paraenetic treatises), (b) works intended for practical use (letters, medicine, itineraries), and (c) 'literature of entertainment' (*adab*)².

The present thesis, a historical study of this literature, focuses in particular on works of the first category and on the role of a *faqīh* from Segovia, Içe de Gebir, or rather Yça Gidelli, who lived in the 15th century.

As will be demonstrated below, the earliest indications that Islamic Spanish literature came into being can be found in two *fatwās* of the well-known Malikite scholar and *qāḍī* 'l-*djamā'a* of Cordoba Abū 'l-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Ruṣḥd (450 / 1058-520/1126)³. The last dated Spanish text is a translation from Arabic into Spanish dated Tunis 1049/1639, which is called *Coronica y relación de la esclarecida deçendencia xarifa: los que binieron de Ali ebnū abitalib y la muerte de el Huçain, radia lahu anhu, y los que fueron prosiguiendo del y otras cosas no menos curiosas que probechosas*.

The extant Islamic MSS from Spain of this period, today scattered over many libraries, are partly written in Arabic and partly in Spanish. Manuscripts in Spanish are either written in Latin characters or in Arabic characters. The current term used to denote Spanish written with Arabic script is Aljamiado (or *aljamía*), although Spanish Muslims, as far as I know, did not distinguish in their terminology whether a text was written in Arabic or in Latin characters⁴. In modern scholarly usage a clear distinction is not

¹ Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, p. 123 s.v. translations; see also *ibidem*, pp. 269-303.

² This classification, including the last term was taken from Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, pp. 304-348.

³ See on him El² s.v. Ibn Ruṣḥd [art. J.D. Latham].

⁴ El² s.v. aljamía [art. E. Lévi-Provençal / L.P. Harvey].

always maintained either. In view of the aim of the present study however it is necessary to do so. As will be set out later the fact that a MS was written or copied in Latin script is an indication of its date, of the writer, or the public the work was written for⁵. A work written in Latin script was accessible to Christian readership also and I will demonstrate that several Muslim writings in Spanish were indeed meant to be read by Christians.

In accordance with the established custom a MS written in Arabic script is denoted as an Aljamiado MS (or a MS written in *aljamía*) in the present thesis. A MS written in Latin script is denoted as a Spanish MS, to avoid the contradictory 'Aljamiado with Latin script'. It therefore also becomes necessary to find a term which could be applied to both the MSS in Latin and in Arabic characters. The term I have chosen is Islamic Spanish literature.

Between the beginning of the 12th century and the middle of the 17th century the Muslims who produced Spanish literature passed through a long history which is marked by three main events in particular, all of which took place in Christian Spain: the first manifestations of Mudejar Islam (11th century), the forcible baptisms (1499-1525) and the expulsion from Spain of the whole minority of Muslim descent which had remained (1609-1614).

Our story begins after the Umayyad caliphate had fallen apart at the beginning of the 11th century. This breakdown of unity led to the existence of the so-called Party-kingdoms. These were small independent states which sometimes allied with the Christian kingdoms in the northern parts of the Peninsula and at other times with the successive Maghribine dynasties. Between the end of the 11th and middle of the 13th century large parts of Muslim Spain were united once more under the domination of the Berber dynasties of the Almoravids and the Almohads, but even then small independent kingdoms continued to exist, the most important, of course, being the Granadan kingdom of the Naṣrids. At the same time the advancing reconquest gave Muslim communities the choice between emigration to Islamic territory or accepting Christian rule. Whereas the elite of sword and pen generally emigrated, many members of the lower classes of Muslim society (in particular those engaged in agriculture) accepted Christian rule. In early medieval times Spaniards called the Muslims who lived in Christian territory

⁵ Hegyi: "El uso"; López-Morillas, "'Trilingual' marginal notes"; Harvey, "Leyenda"; EI² s.v. Moriscos [art. G.A. Wieggers].

simply Moors (Lat. *Mauri*, Sp. *Moros*) or Saracens. In modern scholarly usage they are called Mudejars, although the word Mudejar itself entered the Spanish language only during the conquest of the kingdom of Granada, at the end of the 15th century.

The meaning of the word Mudejar is explained by Dozy⁶ and Cagigas⁷ as 'tributary', both scholars basing themselves upon the medieval lexica of Raymundo Martín (*Vocabulista in arabico*) and Pedro de Alcalá (*Vocabulista*) which faithfully reflect the contemporary meaning of this word in medieval Spain. Words based on the root *dāl djīm nūn* are already found in the *Ḥadīth* however⁸. The form *dādjīn*, said of an animal, means 'domesticated, tamed', the word *dadjīn* or *dadjan* probably meaning 'submissiveness'. The term Mudejar is commonly considered to be derived from the passive participle of the second stem of the root (*mudadadjjan*), or the passive of the eighth stem, (*muddadjan*), but contemporary Arabic sources never use this particular form and refer to the *ahl al-dadjīn* or simply *al-dadjīn*. Muslim writers in particular used the term for those who had willingly accepted the domination of the Unbelievers, but not for those who stayed there under duress, such as captives and slaves.

In earlier studies a clear distinction was not always made between the status of the Mudejars and the more or less independent Party-kingdoms and of Naṣrid Granada⁹. For instance, the criterion of Fernández y González¹⁰ and Cagigas¹¹ was not primarily the use of the Arabic term *dadjīn*, but the existence of a vassal-lord relationship with a Christian king. In Cagigas study, *mudejarismo* was defined as the expression of a 'nationalist' sentiment created by the benign policy of the Christians: "Mudejarism is the somewhat humiliating attitude of the Muslim sovereigns who tried to prolong their *convivencia* with the Spanish Christians on our soil, clearly forgetting the true Islamic doctrine¹² and opposing the foreign

⁶ Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes, s.v.

⁷ *Los Mudéjares*, vol. 1, pp. 57-72.

⁸ *Concordance*, s.v.; the root cannot be found in the Qur'ān.

⁹ See for the history of the Party-kings in the 11th century: Wasserstein, *Rise*.

¹⁰ *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla*, passim.

¹¹ *Los Mudéjares*, passim.

¹² An allusion to the opinion of al-Wanṣharīsī, see *Mi'yār*, vol. 2, pp. 119-141; see also Chapter IV.2.5.2.

African powers”¹³. This definition made it possible to consider Nasrid Granada a Mudejar kingdom¹⁴. Indeed, political and financial dependence of a Muslim ruler on a Christian kingdom had important and grave consequences. In Granada in the 14th century, for instance, it became necessary to impose taxes not prescribed by the *Shari‘a* in order to meet the financial demands of the Christian kings (the so-called *parias*). Nevertheless Arabic sources apparently did not see the Nasrids as Mudejars, and, as far as I know, they only used the word *dadīn* to apply to Muslim communities living in territory where non-Islamic law became dominant¹⁵.

Two examples may suffice. It was not until after the fall of Granada in 1492 that the Muslims who had stayed behind regarded themselves as “people of the *dadīn*”. In a *qaṣīda* directed to the Ottoman sultan they wrote that the decision to surrender to the Christians was taken:

On the condition that we were to remain like the Mudejars before us [*mithla man kāna qablanā min al-dadīn*] namely the inhabitants of the old territory¹⁶, and that we were to be allowed to remain in enjoyment [of the right] to call to prayer and [to celebrate] our ritual oration [Ar.: *ṣalātina*] while we were not [to be required] to abandon any of the prescriptions of the religious law¹⁷.

The same view is expressed in connection with the conquest of Seville in 1248. About this event the famous Ibn *Khaldūn* writes that “the Tyrant-King [the future king Alfonso X el Sabio] appointed ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Abū Muḥammad al-Bayāsī, a member of the family of ‘Abd al-Mu‘min [the founder of the Almohad

¹³ Cagigas, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 92-3: “Mudejarismo fué ... la relación algo humillante de soberanos musulmanes que trataban de prolongar su convivencia con los españoles cristianos en nuestro suelo, con olvido manifiesto de la verdadera doctrina islámica y en oposición a las potencias africanas extranjeras”.

¹⁴ Cagigas, *Los Mudéjares*, vol. 2, pp. 423-26.

¹⁵ For the Party-kings: Bosch Vilá, *Los Almorávides*, pp. 145-150; Wasserstein, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 288-291; for Granada: López Ortiz, “Fatwas Granadinas”, p. 85; Al-*Shātībī* based the allowance to levy *kharāj* in case the treasury (*bayt al-māl*) demanded this upon *istiṣlāḥ*, *Bābā, Nayl*, p. 46 ff.; Al-*Shātībī*, *Fatāwā al-imām al-Shātībī*, p. 187; *Mī‘yār*, vol. 11, p. 127 ff.

¹⁶ An allusion to the Mudejars in the northern parts of Spain, Castile, Catalonia and Aragon. These inhabitants of the old territories used the word *dadīn* as well, see Van Koningsveld, “Supplementary Notes”, appendix II, and the sources discussed below.

¹⁷ Monroe, “A curious Morisco appeal to the Ottoman empire”, p. 290 l. 33-4 / translation, p. 296.

empire] head of the Mudejars”¹⁸. Since the word *dadīn* is only used about those who had accepted the dominance of non-Islamic law in their territory, the Party-kingdoms or Naṣrid Granada cannot be considered Mudejar kingdoms. Moreover, it was only when Islamic law ceased to be the dominant law in former Muslim territory still inhabited by Muslims that *fuqahā*’ resident in Islamic territory began to discuss the consequences of the Reconquista. As far as we know, such re-conquests took place for the first time in the 9th century. When the Christians sieged Barcelona in 801 the inhabitants handed it over “*concessa facultate sedendi*”¹⁹. There are no indications, however, that at this stage treaties granting Muslims some rights in the domain of religion or culture were concluded already or that Muslim inhabitants stayed behind as a result of a systematic and deliberate policy, as happened from the 11th century onwards.

It seems likely that the second half the 11th century marked a crucial moment in the birth of Mudejar Islam. Several Muslim sources even consider this period as its beginning. This holds true, for example, for two *fuqahā*’, the Granadan *faqīh* Abū Yahyā Ibn ʿĀṣim (d. 813/1410?)²⁰ and the Granadan *muftī* Al-Saraqṣī (d. 861/1459)²¹, who discussed the status of the property of the Mudejars of Galera, a village in the kingdom of Granada, which had been conquered by the Castilians²². Ibn ʿĀṣim stated that the “phenomenon of accepting submission” (*al-tadadīdjūn*) began four centuries ago; i.e. in the 11th century²³. The same view is expressed by the well-known *muftī* Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Wanṣharīsī (d. 914/1508) in a *fatwā* written at the end of the 15th century²⁴.

In 1085 the balance of power between the Christian kingdoms and Islamic Spain had changed with the fall of Toledo. Large parts of Muslim Sicily were reconquered in about 486/1091²⁵. The fall of Toledo had also marked the beginning of the adoption of a new policy towards Islam by the Castilian king Alfonso VI. This policy

¹⁸ “Wa-qaddama al-tāghīya ʿalā ahl al-dadīn bihā”, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, vol. I, p. 401, translation De Slane, vol. 2, p. 322.

¹⁹ Fernández y González, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

²⁰ See al-Wanṣharīsī, *Wafayāt*, p. 137.

²¹ See on him: Bābā, *Nayl*, pp. 314-5.

²² See on this episode López Ortiz, “Fatwas Granadinas”, pp. 90-94.

²³ *Mīyār*, vol. 2, p. 151.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 125.

²⁵ See: Turki, “Consultation juridique d’al-imām al-Māzarī”, *passim*.

is sometimes described as ‘Mozarabic’, because it was strongly supported by some Mozarab Christians at Alfonso’s court, the most famous of whom is Count Sisnando Dávídiz²⁶. Toledo -though besieged- was eventually not taken by force, but only after negotiations culminating in the conclusion of a capitulation. The text of this treaty has not come down to us, but four privileges are cited verbatim by Ibn al-Kardabūs: the life and properties of the inhabitants would be spared, those who wished to depart would be free to do so, taxes would remain unchanged, and those who chose to depart were also free to return to the city²⁷. Moreover, from other historical reports it appears that the Toledans also obtained the right to use the great mosque for their cult²⁸. The Castilian chronicler Pero López de Ayala (1332?-1407) mentions yet another privilege, namely the right to maintain “qadis and officials, as they used to have before, in the times of the Moorish king”, in other words: they allegedly got some sort of judicial autonomy²⁹. However, this is probably a mere interpretation. Judicial autonomy was a well-known privilege of Mudejars who lived in 15th-century Castile, but never mentioned in these early treaties as a separate article. Nevertheless it seems likely that Al-Wanṣharīsī and other Muslim authors saw the second half of the 11th century as the beginning of ‘*al-tadadidjun*’ partly because of the consequences of the conclusion of this treaty³⁰.

²⁶ Mackay, *Spain in the Middle Ages*, pp. 19 ff.

²⁷ *Kitāb al-ikīfā’ fī akhbār al-khulafā’*, p. 85; Lévi-Provençal, *Islam d’Occident*, pp. 129-30; Wasserstein, *Rise*, p. 253 ff.

²⁸ Menéndez Pidal and García Gómez, “El conde mozárabe Sisnando Dávídiz y la política de Alfonso VI con los Taifas”, p. 38.

²⁹ “Alcaldes é oficiales, segun primero estaban en tiempo del rey moro”, in: *Crónica de Pedro I*, cap. XVII, año II, apud: Fernández y González, *Estado social*, p. 37 n. 2. See on López de Ayala *DHE* s.v.

³⁰ The fact that al-Wanṣharīsī mentions the history of the ‘Mora Zayda’, the daughter-in-law of al-Ma’mūn, son of al-Mu’tamid, the ruler of Seville (*Mf̣yār*, vol. 2, p. 141), illustrates that he was well aware of the consequences of the fall of Toledo. This woman married Alfonso VI and converted to Christianity. Since Al-Mu’tamid had allied with the Christians against the Almoravids, the Mora Zayda serves an indication of the dangers involved in an alliance with the Christians (see: Lévi-Provençal, *Islam d’Occident*, pp. 139-151). Apparently the fall of Toledo made quite an impression in the Muslim world. This aspect of the importance of the fall of Toledo is neglected by Scales in his article, “¿Cuál era la verdadera importancia de la conquista de Tuletwū?”, passim. Scales erroneously criticizes Menéndez Pidal for using the term ‘*partido mudéjar*’, for the peace party in Toledo. He assumes that Menéndez Pidal means a Mozarabic party (p. 336 n. 30), but the latter had undoubtedly those Toledan Muslims in mind who hoped to surrender the city under favourable conditions.

The tolerant policy of the Castilians towards defeated Muslims changed quite soon, for reasons which do not concern us here. The great mosque was consecrated and turned into a church in the same year as the Christians entered the city and the Party-kings called upon the Almoravids for help against Alfonso VI. According to Bosch Vilá they called for help after the murder of Alfonso's ambassador by al-Mu'tamid, the ruler of Seville, in 1082. This murder was allegedly caused by the height of the *parias* which the Party-kings had to pay to the Christian king. Once Alfonso VI had decided to punish the Party-kings, they called on the Almoravids for help. Thereupon the Almoravid ruler Yūsuf ibn Tashūfin crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and defeated the Christian army at Zallāqa in 1086³¹. This change of the political climate, however, did not put an end to Muslim presence in Toledo³².

During the conquests in the 12th century Castilian policy does not seem to have been aimed at the conclusion of treaties with the Muslim inhabitants. In many cases the Muslim inhabitants of conquered cities and strongholds were expelled³³. The conquests of Murcia (1243) and Seville (1248) again saw the incorporation of large groups of Mudejars into the crown of Castile. In the 11th and 12th century the same had happened in the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia³⁴. Nevertheless, at the end of the 15th century the picture of the Mudejar minorities of the crown of Aragon and the crown of Castile is strikingly different.

In Valencia and Aragon Mudejars constituted at the end of the 15th century between 20% and 30% of the population, and were mainly concentrated on *secano* (non-irrigated) estates belonging to the nobility, although they also occupied some irrigated land (*regadío*, especially the *huertas*). The majority lived in rural areas, often isolated from the Christian population.

In Castile Mudejars were mainly an urban phenomenon at the end of the 15th century, estimated at only 0.5% of the population³⁵. These differences are largely due to the different circumstances

³¹ Bosch Vilá, *Almorávides*, p. 129; Wasserstein, *Rise*, p. 286.

³² González, *Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva*, vol. 2, pp. 130-1; Gonzálvez, "Minorías", p. 553 n. 9, mentions the existence of a mosque in 1305.

³³ Gonzálvez, "Minorías", p. 550.

³⁴ See on the conquest of Aragon and Valencia: Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders*.

³⁵ Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*; idem, "Los Mudéjares de Castilla en la Baja Edad media"; "Los Mudéjares en los reinos de la corona de Castilla".

during the conquests and to the different political structures and demographical situations in Aragon and Castile. The history of Castilian Mudejar Islam is, moreover, marked by the general Mudejar revolt of 1264, which apparently had far more important consequences in Castile than in Aragon.

The revolt broke out in the kingdom of Murcia, which had been conquered in 1243³⁶. The capitulation of the city was the result of a diplomatic initiative of the local ruler³⁷. Negotiations led to the conclusion of a treaty with the future Alfonso X el Sabio, at that time still the crown prince. Between 1243 and 1264 Murcia was to become a sort of protectorate, with a considerable degree of autonomy³⁸. In spite of this, the population policy adopted by Alfonso was considered to be greatly oppressive by the Mudejars, and after a diplomatic offensive, which even led them to protest against this to the Pope, the Mudejars rose in 1264. Murcia was reconquered by the Christian army of the Aragonese king Jaime I in 1266, and afterwards the remaining Mudejars (many had emigrated to Islamic territory) never regained their former position³⁹.

Another historical development which led to the deterioration of the social and juridical position of the Castilian Mudejar community was the anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim unrest at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century caused by growing intolerance of Christian society. Forcible baptisms led to the birth of a large community of Conversos. The Conversos were mainly converted Jews, but there were, as we shall see, Conversos among the Muslims as well. As an immediate consequence of the growing intolerance towards the religious minorities oppressive laws were promulgated in 1407⁴⁰. With the accession of the Catholic

³⁶ Fernández y González, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-112; Torres Fontes, *La reconquista*, pp. 61-160; Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders*, pp. 38-9.

³⁷ Torres Fontes, *La reconquista*, p. 34.

³⁸ Nevertheless, the Andalusian scholar Ibn Rashīq (d. after 674-1274-5) refers to this period as the "infliction of its inhabitants by the *dadīn*" ("mihnat ahlihā bi'l-dadīn"), *Mīyār*, vol. 11, p. 155; cf. La Granja, "Una polémica", 56-7; Van Koningsveld, "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts", 82-3 note 28-9. That the Christians dominated the city immediately after the capitulation is confirmed by the fact that they ruled from the *alcázar*, see: Torres Fontes, *La reconquista*, 36.

³⁹ Ladero Quesada, "Los Mudéjares de Castilla en la Baja Edad media", pp. 361-5.

⁴⁰ Fernández y González, *op. cit.*, appendix LXXVI, dates these laws to 1412; Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, pp. 17-8, 25, dates them to 1407. These laws are also to be found in the *Ordenanzas Reales de Castilla* (see *ibidem*, p. 23, n. 18).

Monarchs the Reconquista -somewhat neglected during the reign of Enrique IV- gained new strength. Granada eventually fell in 897/1492⁴¹.

Once again, a capitulation seemed to guarantee the existence a stable Mudejar minority⁴². This, however, was not to be. In the first years under the first archbishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera, the settlement was generally respected although some capitulations were violated: the bearing of arms was prohibited, for example, and a new fiscal policy made it possible for converted Granadan Muslims to inherit from their Muslim parents, a clear infringement of the capitulation⁴³. A rapid and massive emigration of the upper classes to North Africa followed. The arrival of the archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, in 1498 marked the abandonment of the initial policy and an energetic drive to achieve conversions. Converts to Islam from Christianity and their descendants, *elches*, had had their rights guaranteed in the capitulations, but it seems that it was Cisneros' method to secure their return to Christianity which in December 1499 led to a revolt in the Albaicín (a quarter in Granada), which spread to the Alpujarras and had to be put down by military force, in 1501. Massive conversions followed, while other Muslims still took the opportunity to emigrate. In February 1502 the Mudejars of Castile (which included Granada) were offered the choice between conversion, emigration or death⁴⁴.

We may conclude from the difficulties placed in the way of those who opted for emigration (they could only leave via the harbours in the Bay of Biscay and had to abandon most of their possessions) that conversion was what the Castilian authorities in fact sought to achieve⁴⁵. In 1515 the new Castilian legislation was made applicable to Navarre when that was incorporated into the Spanish crown.

⁴¹ The following passage on the history of the Moriscos is basically the text of EF² s.v. [art. G. A. Wiegiers].

⁴² Published in Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, doc. 50.

⁴³ AGS RGS, 31 October 1499, apud: Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, doc. 83.

⁴⁴ Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, doc. 148.

⁴⁵ "... se vayan dellos con los bienes que con sygo quisieren llevar, con tanto que no puedan llevar ni sacar ni saquen ellos ni otros por ellos fuera de los dichos nuestros reynos oro ni plata ni otra cosa alguna de las por nos vedadas e defendidas, e que ayan de salir e salgan e saquen los dichos sus bienes solamente por los puertos de nuestro condado de Vizcaya ...", AGS RGS 12 February 1502 f. 1, apud: Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, doc. 148.

Many Navarrese Mudejar communities took refuge in Aragonese territory, but the lands of the crown of Aragon (Aragon, Valencia) were not to remain as a refuge for long.

In 1521/2, during the disorders of the Germanía in Aragon and Valencia, the mob turned against Mudejar vassals who had remained steadfastly loyal to their Christian lords, and subjected them to forcible baptism. The validity of such baptism was contested, but a Junta of theologians confirmed it in 1525. In 1526 the general conversion of all Muslims in Aragon and Valencia was decreed.

Conversion was pursued by means of evangelization, legislation and ecclesiastical organization. Until 1568 efforts were concentrated on the Kingdom of Granada, where Moriscos numbered about 40% of the population. The possession of Islamic books⁴⁶ was prohibited, followed by prohibitions of customs which were supposed to be connected with Islam, such as bathing. Many Moriscos, as they were called soon after their conversion, were able to negotiate postponement of interference from the Inquisition for several decades. It is not clear how far either State or Church backed the policy of assimilation and acculturation which apparently prevailed at this stage: at all events the implementation of the policy was, for a variety of reasons, much circumscribed.

Moreover, many Moriscos, especially those in the service of lords, remained subjected to taxes which they had already paid as Mudejars. To these were now added the taxes which corresponded to their new status. This fiscal inequality turned these lords eventually into protectors of Morisco Islam and the Moriscos into their dependants. In Granada a new tax, the *farda*, which was to be paid by the New Christians alone, was introduced before 1510. At the beginning of the second half of the 16th century Christianization had made little progress.

In 1567 new legislation in Granada was directed not only against religion, but against all manifestations of traditional culture, such as all oral and written use of Arabic and traditional dances (*zambra*s). At the same time a crisis in the silk industry (aggravated by the Crown's fiscal policy) affected many Granadan Moriscos

⁴⁶ At first Arabic books on medicine etc. were excepted from this prohibition: see AGS RGS, 12 October 1501, f. 13, in: Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, doc. 146.

adversely. At the end of 1568 a new revolt broke out in the Alpujarras, and spread throughout the kingdom of Granada.

After its suppression in 1570 about 84,000 Moriscos were deported and scattered throughout Castile, though some of them succeeded in returning clandestinely. As a consequence, phenomena such as banditry (for example of the *monfies* (Ar. *manfi*)), and other manifestations of tension between the two communities, hitherto virtually unknown in Castile, became a cause for concern. Fear of contacts between Moriscos and foreign powers such as Morocco, France, the Ottoman Empire and North African pirates, led to a ban on Moriscos residing near the coasts.

From 1570 onwards several radical repressive solutions were advanced and by 1582 there was already in government circles a preference for expulsion, though the economic consequences of such a drastic measure were feared. Even some individual members of the clergy, such as the Valencian archbishop Ribera, favoured (partial) expulsion. However, other important elements among the ecclesiastical leadership, such as the Valencian bishops in their meeting of 1608/9, refused to declare the Moriscos collectively apostates and opted for a renewed effort to convert them.

The final decision to expel all Moriscos was taken in 1609⁴⁷ by the Spanish authorities and was mainly justified on grounds of national security, viz. an alleged Morisco conspiracy with foreign powers. Between 1609 and 1614 the Moriscos were expelled in phases. Some communities were directly transported via the harbours in the south to North Africa, others crossed to France, and went- sometimes via Italy- to the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Algeria, but above all to Morocco and Tunisia.

Due to the activities of the Inquisition many MSS from among the Moriscos were preserved. Out of fear they had hidden them, in places such as the ceilings of their houses. Documents or manuscripts written in 'letra moriega' were viewed as possible *corpora delicti*, and thoroughly examined by the Inquisition. Paris, B.N. 1163 (Saa 64) is an example of such a MS. The alleged owner, a weaver from the Aragonese village Albeta, Rodrigo el Rubio by name, was caught while he was working on the MS, and betrayed to the Inquisition⁴⁸. Other MSS which came into Morisco possession are much older, and must have belonged previously to

⁴⁷ Document published in García-Arenal, *Los Moriscos*, pp. 251-55.

⁴⁸ The Inquisition document is contained in Paris, B.N. Esp. 93 (Morel Fatio, 78).

Mudejars or even inhabitants of al-Andalus. Madrid, B.N. 4886 (G.R. 103), containing a fragment of a work on *tafsīr* called *Kanz al-yawāqīt*, had, according to the colophon, been completed on 28 *Šafar* 594 (= 9 January 1198). This MS passed into the hands of Muḥammad al-Murābiṭī from 'Terreria' (probably Terror, near Ateca and Calatayud), who lived at the beginning of the 15th century⁴⁹. Whereas it is uncertain whether this MS ever came into Morisco possession, we do know that the Moriscos possessed such ancient manuscripts. One of the Arabic MSS of the collection of approximately hundred Spanish and Arabic MSS found in the Aragonese village Almonacid de la Sierra dates from the 11th century⁵⁰. There therefore appears to be a clear link between the literary culture of the Muslims resident in Christian Spain and al-Andalus. There were also scholarly contacts between Muslims in Christian Spain and the Muslim world. As will be shown below, Mudejars from Aragon consulted *muftīs* in Granada more than once in the 14th century. There were Mudejars who performed the *ḥadjj* and Aragonese Mudejars even went to Granada and North Africa in order to study there⁵¹.

Comparable evidence from Castile however is scarce. The Castilian archives furnish much poorer evidence on Mudejar life than the Archives in Aragon. There may be several reasons for this. In Castile Mudejars were only a very small minority, which was probably of little economic importance. Moreover, the earliest documents in the Archivo General de Simancas, which houses the Crown records, date from the early 15th century⁵².

Whereas there is some evidence on the cultural contacts between Mudejars and Muslim lands during the early Middle Ages, we know that the freedom to move became restricted in the 15th century. The laws of 1407 prohibiting free movement of Mudejars and Jews stipulated that: "ningunt Judio, ni Judia, ni Moro, ni Mora, no se vaia de Valladolid, ni de otra parte de el Logar donde morare á morar á otra parte, so pena que pierda por esse mismo

⁴⁹ Madrid, B.N. 4950 (G.R. 103) was copied by Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Lubb al-Murābiṭī, probably a member of the same family.

⁵⁰ J 35, dated 435/1043-4.

⁵¹ See Barceló Torres, *Minorías islámicas en el país valenciano*, pp. 102-3; Salvador, "Sobre la emigración mudéjar a Berbería. El tránsito legal a través del puerto de Valencia durante el primer cuarto del siglo XVI"; Harvey, "The Moriscos and the hajj", *passim*.

⁵² Plaza Bores, *Archivo General de Simancas. Guía del Investigador*, pp. 23-24.

fecho sus vienes, é el cuerpo que esté á la mi merced”⁵³. It is well-known that unlike some other restrictive measures, this law was indeed put into effect, and that it also had negative consequences for the contacts with the Muslim world⁵⁴. In spite of this we will see that some Mudejars emigrated from Segovia to Granada in the middle of the 15th century and were free to return to their native city in 1479! Segovia was also the dwelling place of Yça of Segovia, the central figure in this study, who, according to some sources, became *mufit* of all Castilian Mudejars.

In chapter I we will examine the current views on the role of Yça of Segovia in the history of Islamic Spanish literature. In studies written before 1958 no important role was ascribed to him at all. Until that decade there had been several views on Islamic Spanish literature, though to a certain extent contradictory. Thus on the one hand, the early dating of the *Poema de Yūsuf* yielded a picture of this literature as a poetical genre which flourished mainly in the 14th century; on the other hand, however, many scholars had focused attention on the Moriscos and on the 16th century as the Golden Age of Islamic Spanish literature. It will be shown that the first to synthesize these different views and to formulate a theory on Yça’s role is Harvey. His theories were taken up by several others, such as Epalza and López-Morillas. All hypotheses with respect to a crucial role of Yça are based on the fact that he translated the Qur’ān into Spanish. This was a discovery made by Cabanelas Rodríguez in 1952. It was assumed that his translation of the Holy Book into the vernacular played a decisive role in the origin of vernacular Islamic literature. Epalza even assumes that Yça was the first Muslim who ever wrote in Spanish, a hypothesis also adopted by Harvey in his thesis of 1958. In his most recent study Harvey adjusts his earlier views and assumes that Yça, though not the first to have written in Spanish, in fact played a very important role in making religious literature in Romance acceptable to Muslims. Others, such as Galmés de Fuentes, do not ascribe to Yça a role at all. Galmés de Fuentes elaborates the theories of Menéndez Pidal, and regards Islamic Spanish literature mainly as collective, traditional literature of a popular nature.

All authors focus attention on the fact that it was the loss of knowledge of Arabic that contributed to the coming into being of

⁵³ Apud: Fernández y González, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

⁵⁴ Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, p. 25.

vernacular literature. It is assumed, moreover, that this process began after the fall of Granada in 1492, which implied the beginning of the breakdown of the traditional educational system. Islamic Spanish literature and in particular Aljamiado literature was seen as the Islamic answer to the forcible baptisms, as the literature *par excellence* of the Moriscos.

In Chapter II the assumption about the role of Yça in the origin of Islamic Spanish literature will be examined from a theoretical and historical angle. It will be shown that there is firm evidence that Muslims wrote in Spanish on religious matters much earlier than Yça. First of all, a *fatwā* by Ibn Ruṣḥd mentioning the recitation in Romance of *sūrat Yūsuf* is examined. Next the earliest oral and literary use of Romance by Muslims in al-Andalus in the *khardjas*, the final verses in Romance of the *muwaṣṣhshahāt* in the 11th and 12th century and in works of scientific nature. Finally the possible influence of the Almohad movement upon the birth of Islamic Spanish literature is described. Among the Islamic sources in Spanish there appear to be several translations of the *al-murshida*, a doctrinal text of the Almohad *mahdī* Ibn Tūmart. It will be argued that these translations came into being at a very early stage (the first half of the 13th century) and that they probably mark the transition from Islam as a dominant religion to Mudejar Islam.

Chapter III is devoted to the use of Spanish among the Mudejars until 1456, the year in which Yça translated the Qur'ān. In this chapter several aspects of the use of Spanish in Mudejar Islam are examined. We shall start with the involvement of Mudejars in the transmission of Arabic learning to the medieval Christian world. It is argued that clear evidence of such an involvement exists, and that this involvement perhaps led to the creation of literary works as well. Consequently attention is drawn to Islamic Spanish texts from the same period.

In chapter IV the life and works of Yça are studied. This man is usually referred to as Yçe de Gebir, the Spanish equivalent of ʿĪsā b. Ḍjābir. It will be argued, however, that the name Yçe de Gebir is in fact a 16th-century corruption, most likely of Yça 'Gidelli' (in other contemporary Latin and Spanish sources also Ysa Guidili, Cidili and Xadel). One of the main motivations of his literary activity appears to have been his apocalyptic expectations. Attention will be paid in particular to his translation of the Qur'ān (1455-6) and his *Breviario Sunni* (1462). It will be argued that a Spanish

version of this translation (commonly considered to be lost) can be found in Toledo, Biblioteca Pública MS 235.

In chapter V the influence of Yça on later authors is examined. In particular those works are examined which can be considered to be the most important and original Islamic works written in Spanish, the writings of el Mancebo de Arévalo, the anonymous *Tratado y Declaración y Guía para seguir y mantener el addīn del alislām* and the writings of Mohanmad Devera and Muḥammad Rabadan. The last section of this chapter offers an examination of the influence of Yça Gidelli on Islamic Spanish literature written after the expulsion. It will be argued that such influence was absent mainly because the expulsion caused a rift in the culture of the Moriscos, not only because their social position changed considerably, but also because, after the expulsion, a wealth of Arabic sources became available to them.

In chapter VI Arabic and Islamic Spanish literature from Christian Spain are compared in order to arrive at conclusions regarding the role of Yça Gidelli in the history of Islamic Spanish literature.

CHAPTER ONE

PREVIOUS STUDIES

OF THE HISTORY OF ISLAMIC SPANISH LITERATURE
AND THE ROLE OF YÇA OF SEGOVIA

Several opinions exist about the question as to when Islamic Spanish literature came into being. Roughly three sorts of views can be discerned¹: (a) according to some scholars Islamic Spanish literature resulted from the acculturation of Islam, after the fall of Granada in 1492²; it should therefore be understood as the Islamic response to the repressive policy towards Islam in 16th century Spain³. (b) A second view starts from the hypothesis that Muslims began to use Spanish as a literary language only after some authority had 'shown' that it was 'orthodox' to write on matters of Islam in Spanish. Those who support this view agree that this authority is Yça of Segovia. (c) A third view stresses that actual Islamic Spanish texts are the final result of a long process of oral transmission, a 'latent' stage. This view stresses the traditional and largely collective, anonymous character of Islamic Spanish literature⁴.

Against views (a) and (b) I will argue that the birth of Islamic literature in Romance is the result of a process the earliest traceable origins of which lie in 12th-century al-Andalus. Against (c) it will be argued that a large part of this literature did not have a collective and largely anonymous character, but, on the contrary was formed by individuals, of whom Yça Gidelli is probably the most outstanding.

Yça lived in the middle of the 15th century in Segovia, a small town circa seventy kilometres north-north west of Madrid, in the

¹ These views do not exclude each other, especially (a) and (b) are often found together.

² Cf. Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, pp. 312-3.

³ See for example Chejne, *Islam and the West*, pp. VII, 23, 70.

⁴ See: Galmés de Fuentes, "La Literatura Aljamiado-Morisca"; idem: "La literatura española aljamiado-morisca". The hypothesis as such was introduced by R. Menéndez Pidal. As a result of the early dating of the *Poema de Yūsuf* in the previous century, the view can be found in several general introductions to Spanish literature the view that Islamic Spanish literature was a genre of poetical character which flourished mainly in the 14th century.

part of Castile called 'Castilla la Vieja'. We do not know when he was born or when he died. The only certain data on his life lie between 1454 and 1462, the end of the reign of Juan II (1406-1454) and the beginning of the reign of Enrique IV (1454-1472). Outside the field of Mudejar and Morisco studies Yça Gidelli is mainly known for his translation of the Qur'ān into Spanish, which he made in 1455/1456 for Juan de Segovia (1393?-1458)⁵. This translation is considered lost.

A work of his attracting attention at an early stage was the *Breviario Sunni*. The Inquisition seized, as we have seen, many Islamic books, and one of the extant MSS of the work (Madrid, B.N. 2076) was copied by a Christian. It is bound together with a study on Morisco customs by a certain Dr Zárte, who probably worked for the Inquisition: a Dr Pedro de Zárte is mentioned as an inquisitor in a Valencian document from 1574⁶.

Yça Gidelli's work was also studied by the Dutch Orientalist Adrianus Relandus (1667-1718), the author of *De Religione Mohammedica* (first edition Utrecht 1705, second edition Utrecht 1717). Harvey shows that Relandus used the unique Aljamiado MS of the *Breve Compendio de la santa ley y sunna*, written by a Morisco author called el Mancebo de Arévalo⁷. This MS includes an 'aqīda in thirteen articles by Yça Gidelli (see below, Chapter IV.3.). Although Relandus already mentioned the 'aqīda a few times in the first edition of *De Religione*, he made far more use of it in the second one⁸.

When the French minister David Durand published a French translation of Relandus' *De Religione* in 1721 he inserted a French translation of the 'aqīda. Durand remarked that this 'aqīda was:

la Confession de Foi des Mahométans ... Elle est en Original Espagnol, mais en Caractères Arabes, dans la Bibliothèque Publique d'Amsterdam... C'est delà qu'on nous en a envoyé une Copie, à mesure que nos Eclair-

⁵ Cabanelas Rodríguez: *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico*; Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 278, speaks of 'his' i.e. Juan de Segovia's translation; likewise Sourthern, *Western Views on Islam*, 87; Gabrieli, "The Western Image and Western Studies on Islam", p. 29; El' s.v. al-Kur'ān, sub 9: translations [art. J.D. Pearson] omits this translation.

⁶ Labarta, "Oraciones cristianas aljamiadas", p. 178, note 6.

⁷ This Aljamiado MS is nowadays in the Cambridge University Library (shelfmark Dd 9. 49). It belonged to the future professor of Oriental Languages in Cambridge, Henricus Sike, who at that time lived in Utrecht, see, Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, Appendix A, p. 1.

⁸ In the second edition passages in Spanish taken from the 'aqīda are quoted on pages 48, 53, 59, 96 and 103. It seems likely, as Harvey supposes, that Relandus studied the *Breve Compendio* between 1705 and 1717; see also *Lit. Cult.*, Appendix A, p. 14.

cissements s'imprimoient ...⁹.

The MS is now unfortunately no longer extant, so that it cannot be ascertained whether Relandus only transcribed the Aljamiado text or whether he made a Latin translation as well¹⁰.

At the end of the 18th century Aljamiado literature was re-discovered in Spain¹¹. The Spanish Arabist Antonio Conde mentioned Yça Gidelli in one of his letters to Silvestre de Sacy¹². In this letter, dated 27 July 1797, Conde drew attention to the widespread existence of MSS written in Spanish in Arabic characters and also to the MS of the *Breviario Sunni* in his possession. He described the work as a compendium of the sunna, or better, a compilation of Sunni traditions and customs observed by Spanish Muslims ("un compendio de la sunna, ó mas bien una recopilacion de las tradiciones y oservancias sunniticas de los musulmes españoles"). He also wrote to De Sacy that there were other books by the same individual in the Biblioteca del Rey (nowadays the Biblioteca

⁹ Durand, *La religion des Mahométans*, pp. XXXIV-XXXV.

¹⁰ It is remarkable that Durand proudly tells his readers about this creed: "C'est un présent que je vous fais et qui doit vous rendre mon édition plus recommandable, parce que c'est une pièce très-curieuse en elle-même ..., et que d'ailleurs elle n'a pas paru, que je sache, dans aucun Ouvrage public. M. Reland en a bien cité quelques lambeaux dans ses Remarques; mais il semble que c'étoit plutôt pour picquer notre goût que pour satisfaire notre appétit" (*ibidem*, p. CLXXVII). On page CLXXVII he repeats his remarks about title and origin of the MS, but this time adding that it was a Latin MS: "C'est le titre du MS Latin, qui m'a été remis. L'original est espagnol en lettres Arabes". At the end of his book he mentions it once more as one of the four MSS of Sike which were used by Reland and repeats that his French translation is based on a copy (not mentioning that it was in Latin!) sent from Amsterdam (*ibidem*, 286). Saavedra mentions the MS in his list of extant Aljamiado MSS (*Indice*, no. 132) but did not know where it was. His information is based upon Morgan's book *Mohametism fully explained*. In a footnote Morgan repeats Durand's information that the Latin MS, from which the French version was made was in the "publick library at Amsterdam". Saavedra, in his turn, writes that the original MS was translated into Latin, and subsequently into French and English.

Who wrote the Amsterdam MS, and what was its nature? We have seen that Durand presented his edition and translation of the *ʿaqḷda* as his own work. One would expect that if he had indeed based it upon a Latin translation he would have known that this translation had been made by Relandus. This is contradicted by his proud remarks that by presenting this text he surpasses Relandus. If the MS was indeed a Latin translation of the *Breve Compendio* or the *Thirteen Articles* he would have known this. Therefore, it seems more likely that the only time (out of three!) that he says that the MS sent to him was a Latin MS, he means that it was written in Latin characters, in other words: it was probably a transcript of an Aljamiado text. It is indeed likely that this transcript was made by Relandus who, as we have seen, cites it extensively in the second edition of *De Religione*.

¹¹ Manzanares de Cirre, *Arabistas españoles del siglo XIX*, p. 76 ff.

¹² Derenbourg and Barrau-Dihigo, "Quatre lettres de Josef Antonio Conde à Silvestre de Sacy", pp. 262-3.

Nacional in Madrid). He cited one of them, in order to illustrate Yça's way of translating the Qur'ān (quoting S. 67: 1-2)¹³.

The Spanish arabist Pascual de Gayangos (1809-1897) played an important role in the study of Islamic Spanish literature¹⁴. In his article "Language and Literature of the Moriscos (1839)", he expressed some important opinions about its nature and dating. In it, he also alluded to Yça Gidelli, whose *Breviario Sunni* he edited in 1853 in *Memorial Histórico Español* (hereafter referred to as *edition*). He writes¹⁵:

Instances of nations having, during a long captivity, lost their own language and adopted that of the conquerors, are too frequent in history to make it necessary to point out the changes which the Arabic language underwent before it was entirely forgotten; suffice it to say, that in the year 1445, forty-seven years before the taking of Granada, a work composed by the Imam of the great mosque in Segobia, then the capital of Castile, in Spanish, but with Arabic letters [sic], the object of which was the instruction of the Moors of his district; the author stating in the preface that he had been compelled by necessity to use the Spanish language, since he well knew that, had he employed the Arabic, not one in a hundred would have understood him.

In a note he adds: "The MS. here alluded to exists in the writer's collection; it bears the title of *Compendio Sunni*, or epitome of the *Sunna* or Mohammedan Law". Although Gayangos does not mention Yça explicitly here, it seems very clear that he is in fact referring to him. However, it is striking that he mentions 1445 as the year of completion, while all extant MSS of the *Breviario Sunni* mention 1462. It is also striking that he quotes a phrase, which is not to be found in the extant MSS: the phrase that if the work had been written in Arabic, not one in a hundred would have understood him. But this phrase is probably no more than a gloss of Gayangos¹⁶.

¹³ He does not mention any shelfmarks, and does not make it clear why he ascribes this work to Yça Gidelli.

¹⁴ See on him: Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish scholarship*, pp. 66-88; Manzanares de Cirre, *Arabistas*, pp. 83-101.

¹⁵ Gayangos, "Language and Literature", pp. 77-8.

¹⁶ There are five MSS of this work extant: Madrid, B.N. 2076 (hereafter: N 1); and 6016 (N 2), Madrid, C.S.I.C. Instituto de Filología 1 (J 1) (Other MSS of the collection of this institute will be referred to as J(unta), followed by the number, after the former name of the institute 'La Junta', which is preserved in the title of the catalogue by Ribera and Asín); 60 (J 60) and finally Madrid, R.A.H. S 3. It is striking that he states that the work was written in Arabic characters, for the only copies which Gayangos knew of, at least as far as we know

It is clear that Gayangos did not consider Islamic Spanish literature to be a Morisco phenomenon alone. After he has argued that the *Poema de Yūsuf* was written in the middle of the 15th century¹⁷, he concludes¹⁸:

During the whole of the fifteenth century, the Moors of Aragon used the Arabic letters to write in Spanish, and they seem to have been influenced by two principal considerations; first, that the Arabic letters were held as sacred, because the Korán is written with them; and secondly, that pertinacious attachment which all nations have for their system of writing; to which we may add, perhaps, the wish to conceal their writing from the Christians. This method became afterwards more general, and extended in the sixteenth and seventeenth century to all the Moriscos in Spain.

Gayangos sent a transcription of the *Poema de Yūsuf* in Latin script to George Ticknor, who published it in his *History of Spanish literature*¹⁹. Ticknor was of the opinion that the poem was written before 1400²⁰. Apparently this opinion on the dating of the *Poema de Yūsuf* was reconsidered later, for in the appendix to his Spanish translation of Ticknor's *History of Spanish literature* Gayangos states:

It is not easy to assert at what time the Spanish Moriscos started to use their characters to write our language or that which they called aljamía (a mixture of Castilian and Arabic): We deem it likely that the oldest book we know of written like that is the Poem of Joseph. But whereas style and language indicate some age, there are reasons to believe that it was written

from the preface to the edition, were written in Latin characters: he describes first an original and autograph, which served as the basis of the edition; this is certainly S 3, not an autograph, and not an Aljamiado MS, a MS of the Biblioteca Nacional in 4º, shelfmark Q 193 (N 2), and finally B.N. G 138 (N 1). The last two MSS are written in Latin characters. Although it is not certain that such a MS indeed existed (perhaps Gayangos merely committed a reading error and paraphrased the contents of the preface) it cannot be excluded either: this may have been the lost MS Saa 1 (but see also below, Chapter IV.5.1.). Be that as it may, Gayangos had no longer access to that MS any more around 1853. It does not appear in the notes to his edition of the *Breviario Sunni*.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 90, cf. p. 84.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 92.

¹⁹ Vol. 3, appendix II, pp. 395-421.

²⁰ The MS published by Ticknor is Madrid, B.N. Gg 101 (modern shelfmark Res. 247, = Saa 47).

in the middle of the sixteenth century²¹.

In the same appendix Gayangos devotes much attention to the *Poema de Yūsuf*, as he had done in his afore-mentioned article. The next scholar to devote some attention to Yça Gidelli was Fernández y González. In the section on literature of the Mudejars in his *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla* he states that the *Breviario Sunni* was originally written in Castilian, i.e. in Latin characters, and not, as Gayangos had written earlier, in Arabic characters²². He also cites a few passages from the work²³.

The next scholar, Eduardo Saavedra, wrote one of the most remarkable 19th-century studies of Islamic Spanish literature²⁴. In it, he also devoted attention to Yça Gidelli. Saavedra, also the first to adduce codicological arguments, attributes more than one fifth of the Islamic Spanish MSS known to him to the 14th and 15th centuries. Like Fernández y González, he considered Aljamiado literature to be both a Mudejar and a Morisco phenomenon²⁵. On codicological grounds Saavedra dated the *Poema de Yūsuf* to the 14th century. This opinion was to contribute to the incorrect picture of Islamic Spanish literature as a mainly 14th-century phenomenon, a view found in some general histories of Spanish literature. In his survey of Islamic Spanish literature Saavedra mentions Yça Gidelli as one of the Muslims who tried to contain the decadence of Islamic culture in Christian Spain, without, however, ascribing an important role to him.

Márquez Villanueva draws attention to the fact that Saavedra is the only Spanish Arabist in the 19th century who considered 16th century Islamic Spanish literature to be evidence of a process of *Christianisation*²⁶. Saavedra indeed assumed that if the Moriscos

²¹ "No es fácil averiguar en qué tiempo los moriscos españoles comenzaron a servirse de sus letras para escribir nuestra lengua ó la que ellos llamaban aljamía (mezcla de castellano y arábigo); el libro más antiguo que conocemos así escrito nos parece ser este mismo poema de José: pero, si bien su estilo y lenguaje revelan mediana antigüedad, hay motivos para creer que se escribió a mediados del siglo XVI" (Ticknor, *Historia*, vol. 4, p. 419).

²² Fernández y González: *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla*, p. 235.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 236.

²⁴ His most important contribution to the study of Islamic Spanish literature is his *Discurso* to which he added a list of all Islamic Spanish MSS known at the time (*Índice*); see on Saavedra: Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish scholarship*, pp. 101-112; Manzanera de Cirre, *Arabistas españoles*, pp. 183-7.

²⁵ Fernández y González, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-237.

²⁶ See "El problema historiográfico de los Moriscos", p. 75, and in particular his *Temas y Personajes del Quijote*, p. 229 ff.

had not been expelled they would eventually have become devout Christians, a view which caused a fierce reaction²⁷. Saavedra's findings were challenged by Antonio Cánovas del Castillo. This, as far as I know, was the first time that nature and dating of Islamic Spanish literature were used as an argument in the controversy on the expulsion of the Moriscos²⁸. The essential point of the polemic was the moral basis of the expulsion of the Moriscos, a baptized and therefore formally Christian minority. The polemic began immediately after the expulsion from Spain with authors such as Bleda, Fonseca, Aznar Cardona, who defended the expulsion on the basis of the apostasy of the Moriscos, which allegedly appeared from their conspiracy with foreign powers and from their concealed Islamic identity. Even today Morisco historiography is not completely free from what Márquez Villanueva called the myth that the Moriscos were inassimilable (*el mito del morisco inasimilable*)²⁹. This becomes evident in a strong tendency to identify Islamic Spanish literature with the period between 1492 and 1609.

In the period directly following Saavedra's work, an almost contrary tendency can be observed as well. Possibly as a result of Gayangos' investigations the *Poema de Yūsuf* became a key-text in the discussion on the early history and general dating of Islamic Spanish literature at the end of the 19th century, and it attracted the attention of many scholars, among them Morf, Moreno, Nieto, and Schmitz³⁰. In the early part of the 20th century, however, the learned world lost interest in Islamic Spanish literature, perhaps because the high expectations cherished by some were not answered: no hidden treasures of Spanish literature, no Muslim Cervantes had been found. Between the beginning of the 20th century and the fifties some scattered articles appeared, such as those written by the American scholar Lincoln. Meanwhile the contrary tendencies found their way into many general works on Spanish literature, which almost invariably mention the alleged 14th-century *Poema de Yūsuf* as the most outstanding example of Islamic Spanish literature. These tendencies were only to be brought together at the end of the fifties, after Cabanelas Rodríguez had pointed out that the man who

²⁷ Saavedra, *Discurso*, pp. 190-1.

²⁸ Cf. Manzanares de Cirre, *Arabistas españoles*, pp. 183-187.

²⁹ Márquez Villanueva, "El problema historiográfico de los Moriscos", p. 84 ff, see also Drost, *De Moriscos in de Publicaties van Staat en Kerk*, pp. 240-7.

³⁰ See the summary of previous opinions in: Menéndez Pidal, *Poema de Yūçuf*, pp. 9-14.

had translated the Qur'ān into Spanish at the request of Juan de Segovia was Yça Gidelli.

In his study *The Literary Culture of The Moriscos 1492-1609. A Study based on the extant Manuscripts in Arabic and Aljamiá* Harvey formulated in 1958 the hypothesis that Yça Gidelli's works played a crucial role in rendering Islamic Spanish literature acceptable to Mudejars. This hypothesis is based upon several lines of investigation, which deserve to be examined here in some detail, not only because the present thesis owes much to Harvey's study, but also because it has become a work which exercises considerable influence, in spite of the fact that only small parts have been published.

The first line of argument is codicological. Harvey arranges all Aljamiado MSS (Latin character MSS were not taken into consideration) known to him according to date. These are basically the MSS described by Saavedra, the collection which is nowadays housed at the C.S.I.C., Instituto de Filología (described in the catalogue by Ribera and Asín), and additional MSS which had come to light since then. He relied basically upon the codicological data as far as they are given in these studies. The diagram which is the result of these datings (on p. 357b) contains implicit criticism of the datings put forward in earlier studies. This criticism is explicit only with respect to the early dating of the *Poema de Yūsuf* on which Harvey remarks:

Linguistic and metrical arguments can only provide us with a *terminus a quo* in such cases, never a *terminus ante quem*. The new factor which we would adduce in the dating of this and similar documents is simply comparison with the dating of other *aljamiado* mss. If the *earliest* [my italics, G.W.] *aljamiado* document that can be dated *with certainty* [my italics, G.W.] is Saa 80 (1474) and if the vast majority of *aljamiado* mss. extant are to be attributed to the 16th century, are we not therefore justified in considering as suspect any attribution to the 14th century? An attribution to the 14th century can only be accepted as unquestionably correct when other evidence can be produced that Spanish was written in Arabic characters at such an early date³¹.

The second line of argument is islamological and historical at the same time³²:

³¹ Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, pp. 334-5.

³² *Ibidem*, pp. 273-4.

Throughout the history of Islam in the Peninsula we hear of no Muslim who wrote in any other language than Arabic on Muslim matters until ‘Ise de Ÿebir ‘Ise de Ÿebir is the first Muslim to translate from Arabic to Spanish [viz. the Qur’ān] and the first to compose in Spanish [viz. the *Breviario Sunni*]. We shall see that the influence of his work runs through *aljamiado* literature from the beginning to the end. We are, therefore, led to ask whether it is not possible that it was the work of this man which provided the spark which set off the movement for the production of Muslim books in the Romance vernacular. Once one man had demonstrated that it was possible to set down good Muslim doctrine in the language of the ‘aḡam, then others might follow in the path which he had marked out. The important thing was to establish the practice. Once established there could be little doubt that it would be accepted as a *bid’a ḡasana*, a laudable innovation.

This hypothesis is clarified as follows:

As we have already suggested, ... it seems probable that the translation made by the *mudéjar mufti* of Segovia ‘Ise de Ÿebir played an important part in rendering the translation of the Holy Text acceptable. We certainly know of the existence of no translation of the Quran by a Muslim which was available to Muslims in Spain before the time of don ‘Ise. It is clear from the study of the circumstances of this translation, made by Cabanelas, that when don ‘Ise went to Savoy to collaborate with Juan de Segovia he did not take with him a text of a Spanish Quran. The Spanish text was prepared in Savoy, and we note that the *mufti* was particularly anxious to take back home with him the new version, so that a second copy had to be made. It was therefore probably not a book which the *mufti* already possessed, and may well have been the first translation of the Quran known at this time³³.

In the third place, Harvey focuses attention on the strong influence of Yça’s *Breviario Sunni*, which is particularly noticeable in the works of three Moriscos. The first is the enigmatic ‘el Mancebo de Arévalo’, especially in the *Breve Compendio de la santa ley y sunna*³⁴, and the others are the *Discurso de la luz* of Muḡammad Rabadan and a treatise by Mohanmad [sic] Devera³⁵.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 308.

³⁴ Harvey, “El Mancebo de Arévalo y la literatura aljamiada”, *passim*.

³⁵ Muḡammad Rabadan, *Discurso de la Luz* (of this text two MSS are extant: Paris, B.N. Esp. 256 (Saa 62) and London, B.M. Harley 7501).

Harvey's hypothesis about the Qur'ān translation was taken as a point of departure by López-Morillas³⁶. On the basis of a comparative study of six Aljamiado commentaries on *sūra* 79, she reaches the conclusion that the influence upon these commentaries of Yça Gidelli's translation is noticeable³⁷. The results of this investigation will be dealt with below.

Epalza deals with the birth of Islamic Spanish literature in several publications. In what is chronologically the first he described the problem as follows:

... il y avait la résistance des lettrés de la Péninsule, comme ceux du Maghreb en général, à écrire dans une autre langue que l'arabe, langue religieuse et de culture unique à Al-Andalus. Même l'effort du fondateur du mouvement almohade, Ibn Toumart, et de son disciple Al-Baydaq, au XIIe siècle, pour écrire des textes religieux ou historiques en berbère, n'eurent pas de suite. Je crois que ce fut l'exemple turc, au XIVE et XVe siècle, avec leur puissance en Méditerranée et la part de plus en plus grande que les Ottomans firent à la langue turque dans l'administration, ce qui fut décisif à Al-Andalus pour donner l'aval moral aux lettrés andalous qui étaient affrontés au problème de propager la culture islamique (religieuse, juridique, littéraire, médicale, etc.) à des populations musulmanes qui parlaient l'espagnol³⁸.

In a recent study Epalza puts forward the hypothesis that Islamic Spanish literature came into being only after Yça Gidelli had translated the Qur'ān³⁹. An argument which, according to Epalza, supports this hypothesis is that there are no Aljamiado MSS dated before 1462, the year of completion of the *Breviario Sunni*. Furthermore, Epalza supposes that the use of Spanish (instead of Arabic) as a means to convey Islamic concepts could only be discovered as a result of the cooperation of an 'expert' in the religious use of Castilian such as Juan de Segovia with a Mudejar authority such as Yça. This is explained as follows:

... translating Islamic concepts from Arabic into Castilian by two persons, one of whom masters the Arabic language better than Castilian with respect to religious themes and who takes a conservative view of Islamic concepts

³⁶ "Over twenty years have passed since it was first suggested that 'Īsā b. Jābir's translation of 1456 might well have inspired all subsequent Morisco translations" (*The Qur'an in sixteenth-century Spain: Six Morisco Versions of Sūra 79*, p. 15).

³⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 54-55.

³⁸ Epalza, "L'identité onomastique et linguistique des morisques", pp. 278-9.

³⁹ Epalza, "A modo de introducción: El escritor Ybrahim Taybili y los escritores musulmanes aragoneses", pp. 5-26, especially p. 10 ff.

... while the other has a better knowledge of the Castilian religious concepts and tends to christianise those concepts ... is a very profound and enriching intellectual exercise. Here, İçe de Gebir must have understood the possibilities offered by the Castilian language to express Islamic concepts⁴⁰.

Epalza also assumes that it was the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 by the Turks which demonstrated the orthodoxy of non-Arabic Islamic literature written in Arabic characters, thus rendering possible the birth of Aljamiado literature:

The Turks, champions of victorious Islam defeating the Christians, and their perfectly legitimate use of a non-Arabic language for their religious expression, -together, of course, with the Arabic of the learned classes and the religious authorities- completely legitimised the use of Castilian, above all when it was written in Arabic script for the Hispanic Muslims⁴¹.

He then continues his hypothesis on the origin of Islamic Spanish literature with a tentative chronology, which is not directly relevant to this chapter, but will be discussed in the course of my arguments.

In his recent study *Islamic Spain 1250 to 1500* Harvey once again devotes attention to the early history of Islamic Spanish literature. On the basis of new evidence he now distinguishes between the European and Islamic aspects of Yça's role. With regard to the European context Yça's role was to be compared with that of other translators of Holy Scriptures who played an essential part in the emergence of the vernacular as a cultural language in its own right⁴². With regard to the Islamic side he states that Yça Gidelli's contribution appears to be crucial because (a) the influence of the *Breviario Sunni* is very strong, and (b) datable works before Yça written by Spanish Muslims in their own vernacular were extremely

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 11 "(La experiencia de) traducir del árabe al castellano los conceptos islámicos, entre dos personas de las que una domina más el árabe que el castellano en temas religiosos y está en posición conservadora de los conceptos islámicos ... y la otra que conoce más la terminología religiosa castellana y tiende a cristianizar esos conceptos ... es un ejercicio intelectual muy profundo y enriquecedor. İçe de Gebir debió comprender aquí las posibilidades que ofrecía la lengua castellana para expresar los conceptos islámicos ...".

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, 13, "Los turcos, campeones del Islam victorioso contra los cristianos, y su uso perfectamente legítimo de una lengua no-árabe para su expresión religiosa -junto al árabe de las clases cultas y de las autoridades religiosas, evidentemente- legitimaban enteramente el uso del castellano, sobre todo si se escribía en escritura árabe, para los musulmanes hispánicos".

⁴² Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp. 83-87.

rare if not non-existent⁴³. In this study yet another hypothesis is introduced as well: namely that Yça's translation of the Qur'ān may have served as a model for all texts in *aljamía*:

The influence of Ice de Gebir, and behind him of John of Segovia, is probably to be detected in the manner and technique of translating from Arabic which the Muslims of Spain continued to adopt for their scripture and holy books right up to the end.... The translations of Koranic texts which we find in use among Muslims of Spain in the period subsequent to this all, to some degree inject into Spanish features of the semitic morphology and syntax of the holy text. A new Arabized Spanish emerged as the literary language of the Muslims: ... *aljamía*⁴⁴.

From this survey the following conclusions can be drawn. First of all, it appears that there is a clear tendency to ascribe to Yça Gidelli a crucial role in the history of Islamic Spanish literature, but opinions differ with respect to the precise nature of his contribution. The contents of these varying opinions appear to depend strongly on how the religious status of vernacular Islamic literature is judged. Epalza even observes resistance among Andalusian scholars to writing in a language other than Arabic, and assumes a direct influence of the Turks on the origin of Islamic Spanish literature.

In the second place, there is the problem of the influence of the translation of the Qur'ān. Several authors assume that this translation exercised considerable influence in 15th and 16th century Spain.

In the third place it can be observed that the datings of Islamic Spanish MSS on codicological grounds (paper, ductus, etc.) which were established by Gayangos, Saavedra, Ribera, Asín and the other scholars who cooperated in the catalogue of the Almonacid collection⁴⁵ are taken into account in modern research in a rather ambivalent way. Sometimes they are accepted as a basis for

⁴³ This is clarified on p. 86, note 5: "Whereas the generally accepted view has been that much of *aljamiado* literature is early, a survey of manuscripts which are susceptible to rigorous dating threw up only two or three dubious examples of mss written before 1462. This is certainly very far short of demonstrating that Ice created *aljamía* as a literary medium, but it does place his work in a different perspective. We have no evidence that the Mudejars wrote very much in Spanish in Arabic characters before his days".

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 83. In the note Harvey refers to López-Morillas's "The Qur'ān", pp. 33-42, discussed below.

⁴⁵ *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*. Madrid 1912.

hypotheses⁴⁶. At other times they are refuted⁴⁷. In general it can be said that linguistic arguments tend to prevail over codicological arguments⁴⁸.

However, linguistic orthographic features do not provide a reliable method of dating. In this field a study was undertaken by Karp⁴⁹ in a linguistic investigation into the value of dated Aljamiado MSS as evidence of the sound changes in Castilian. The MSS upon which Karp's study is based are dated between 1429 and 1598 and vary in length and character: fragments of works on *fiqh*, a travel route (to Italy) and fragments of paraenetic works.

It appears that the linguistic orthographic features of these MSS were outspokenly conservative. A few examples may suffice. In written Castilian there was a gradual transformation from initial F to initial H. Aljamiado MS J 52 (dated 1598) shows 31.3% F- and 69.7% to have H-⁵⁰. However, Madrid B.N. 5223 (dated 7 *Djumādā* II/ 22 August 1577), shows 100% to have H-. This indicates that linguistic orthographic features can hardly be used for the purpose of dating a particular MS. The problem is probably not only that the Mudejars and Moriscos wrote a more conservative Castilian than their countrymen, but that they may very often have respected the linguistic features of the -perhaps much older- texts they were copying.

Fortunately, since the appearance of Briquet's album and other collections, the analysis of watermarks has become a reliable method of dating MSS⁵¹, and although it is a pity that Briquet did not collect materials in Spain (with the result that his work is of less value for the study of Spanish MSS), it will be shown that the analysis of watermarks may be a very valuable tool also in dating Spanish MSS.

⁴⁶ *Lit. Cult.*, p. 357b.

⁴⁷ For example López-Morillas, *The Qur'ān*, pp. 20, 43; Epalza, "L'identité onomastique", p. 277.

⁴⁸ For example Menéndez Pidal, *Poema de Yūṣuf*, pp. 11, 95-97; López-Morillas, *The Qur'ān*, pp. 40-46; pp. Hegyi, *Cinco Leyendas*, p. 11; *Lit. Cult.*, pp. 334.

⁴⁹ *A study of the Language of Selected 15th and 16th century Aljamiado Manuscripts*.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

⁵¹ See: Van der Horst, "The reliability of watermarks", *passim*.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EARLIEST TRACES OF ISLAMIC SPANISH LITERATURE IN AL-ANDALUS

II.1. ORAL AND LITERARY USE OF THE ROMANCE VERNACULAR IN AL-ANDALUS AT THE TIME OF THE PARTY-KINGS AND THE ALMORAVIDS

The fact that many Andalusian Muslims mastered Romance from the earliest times of Islam in Spain is attested in many sources. In the *Ta'riḫ qudāt Qurtuba* (the history of the *qādīs* of Cordoba) by the well-known chronicler al-Khushanī (d. ca. 371/981)¹ many anecdotal examples, attributed to the 8th and 9th century, can be found of Andalusian Muslims speaking Romance. These examples seem to indicate that the Romance vernacular (called *ʿadjamī* or sometimes *laṭīniyya* in the sources) was not only spoken by the common people, but also by the educated elite². The impression that indeed all strata of the Muslim population of al-Andalus spoke Romance is confirmed by the genealogical work of Ibn Ḥazm (384/994-456/1064), *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, in which an Arab tribe, the Banū Balī living north of Cordoba, is mentioned who, contrary to most other Arabs, did not master Romance very well, but only Arabic. According to Ibn Ḥazm the men and women of

¹ On al-Khushanī: EI² s.v. [art. Ch. Pellat].

² A well-known anecdote attributed to the reign of the Umayyad emir ʿAbd al-Rahmān II (206/822-238/852) deals with a pious and honourable inhabitant of Cordoba, Yanayr, who according to al-Khushanī only spoke Romance (*ʿadjamī al-lisān*) (*Ta'riḫ*, p. 55 / translation pp. 143-4). The story relates that the inhabitants of Cordoba had many complaints about their *qādī*. When the opinion of Yanayr in this matter was requested, he characterized the *qādī* in question by using a diminutive of a Romance word (which is not quoted by al-Khushanī). Yanayr's opinion was transmitted to the emir, according to whom such a pious (*ṣāliḥ*) man would never have used it if were not the truth. As a result the *qādī* in question was dismissed. Anecdotes like this may be interpreted in two ways: (a) as historical facts and (b) as a mirror of the literary taste of the author and the public he was writing for, rather than historical examples. See on interpretation (b) below.

this tribe “are not well able to speak in Latin, but only in Arabic”³.

In the bilingual Muslim community of al-Andalus events occurred such as those described in the following *fatwā*, given by the Malikite scholar Ibn Ruṣḥd al-Djadd (450/1059-520/1126). As *qāḍī* ‘l-*djamā’a* in Cordoba from 511/1117 until 515/1121 Ibn Ruṣḥd was for some time the holder of the highest judicial office in Almoravid Spain⁴. I translate as follows⁵:

A written submission was made to him [sc. Ibn Ruṣḥd] -may God be pleased with him- [asking him] about a man of whom it had been testified that he had spoken in a bad manner about the Prophet -may God bless him and give him peace- and made other similar statements. The text of the question [is the following]: Your answer is requested -may God be pleased with you- about a man of whom evidence was brought forward that he had said that the Prophet -may God bless him and grant him peace- appeared through the opening from which the urine comes out. This statement of his was confirmed in the presence of the provincial judge [*ḥākim*]⁶, but he denied it, called the witnesses deceitful and said: “God forbid that I should [even] say such a thing”. One witness testified that he had said: “I [can] recite *sūrat Yūsuf* in Romance”⁷. One witness also testified that he had said: “May God curse the Arabic language, and him, who produced it⁸”, besides other similar confused statements, which he had heard from him, and which spread in his neighbourhood and village. All those who had testified against him said that the man who made this statement did not omit performing the prayers [*ṣalawāt*] and many of his deeds were actually good, except what they had heard and testified against him, as said before. Please, provide us with an answer, for which you shall be recompensed and thanked, if God so wishes. He answered to this in the following way: I have examined this question of yours and paid careful attention to it. With respect to the evidence given about this man who is weak in religion or has [even] placed himself outside the religious community of the Muslims concerning the statements he made about the Prophet, it is necessary that one should

³ “Lā yuhsinūna al-kalām bi ‘l-lafīniyya lākin bi ‘l-‘arabiyya faqat, nisā’uhum wa ridjāluhum”, *Djamhara*, p. 415, cf. Mu’nis, *Fadīr al-Andalus*, p. 377; Wasserstein, *Rise*, p. 166 note 6. See for Ibn Hazm: EI² s.v. [art. R. Arnaldez].

⁴ EI² s.v. [art. J.D. Latham]; ‘Abbās, “Nawāzil Ibn Ruṣḥd”, pp. 3-14.

⁵ The present translation is based on Ibn Ruṣḥd, *Fatwā*, pp. 1427-1429. The *fatwā* is also found in *Mi’yār*, vol. 2, pp. 352-53. The version transmitted by al-Wansharīsī only deviates from the edition by al-Taḥī in the formulation of the introduction to the answer and the question. It has also been published by ‘Abbās, “Nawāzil Ibn Ruṣḥd”, no. 31.

⁶ Tyan, *Histoire de l’organisation judiciaire en pays d’Islam*, vol. 1, p. 156.

⁷ “anā aqra’u Sūrat Yūsuf bi ‘l-‘adjamiyya”.

⁸ Ar. “wa alladhī akhrajāhā”. It is not clear who is (are) meant here. The most likely interpretation is that the Arabs in general are meant.

interrogate the witnesses who have testified this against him, and inquire about the conversation which induced him to make these statements, for the answer to the problem depends on this. If it be determined beyond doubt that he wanted to express his aversion to him -may God bless him and grant him peace- and his rebellion against him and his contempt for his important position, and that he wished to dispute his place, while he cannot adduce a defence against the evidence that has been brought forward against him in this case, then it is necessary to put him to death. But if it cannot be established that he had anything else in mind than to advance the idea that he [the Prophet] is a human being and not an angel, a painful punishment is necessary, because he did not deem the Prophet -God bless him and grant him peace- to be too high to be spoken of in such a way. There was neither any necessity, nor was he forced. What you have mentioned with respect to what one witness had testified against him and which spread about him in his neighbourhood and his village implies he has to undergo a disciplinary punishment, if that [indeed] is proven to have been the case, God most high grants success!

The *fatwā* describes how, after the case of this man was heard in a provincial court, the opinion of Ibn Rushd was sought, perhaps in his quality as *muftī mushāwir*⁹ or as a judge of appeal. Be that as it may, Ibn Rushd divides the accusations in two parts: (a) the allegation confirmed by several witnesses in the presence of the judge that the accused made dubious statements about the prophet Muḥammad and (b) the allegations confirmed by one witness only. These are two, namely that this man had (1) recited *sūrat Yūsuf* in Romance (it seems almost certain that this is the °*adjamī* language in question) and (2) that he had made a very depreciating statement about the language of the Arabs. With respect to (b), 1 and 2, Ibn Rushd advises the *qāḍī* to administer a corporal punishment (*ʿadab*¹⁰) if it has been proven that he indeed made them. It is unfortunate that the actual text of the *fatwā* (which may well be a summary only) does not tell us whether Ibn Rushd considered recitation of the Qurʾān in °*adjamiyya* itself a transgression which had to be punished or whether the combination of statements (1) and (2) made the man liable for such a punishment.

The opinion of the orthodox *madhabs* in the matter of recitation of a translation of the Qurʾān in prayer may be summarized as follows. At first Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), allowed this uncondi-

⁹ In difficult cases the *qāḍī* usually seeks advice of a *muftī*, see Juynboll, *Handleiding*, p. 313.

¹⁰ See Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.

tionally. His disciples Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805) however made this permission to recite a translation conditional on the *inability* to recite it in Arabic¹¹. The latter opinion was to become the point of view of the Hanafite *madhhab*, whereas the other schools rejected this. Adducing evidence from the Qur'ān itself they pointed out that the Qur'ān was revealed in Arabic. According to a contemporary of Ibn Rushd, the Malikite scholar and *qāḍī* of Seville Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī (468/1076-543/1148¹²), the contents of S. 41: 44 alone nullify the position of the Hanafite *madhhab*¹³.

But had this man really recited *sūrat Yūsuf* and if so, had he recited it during prayer? First of all, it should be pointed out that the imperfect tense of the verb (which is used here) may have a potential meaning, so that the statement "I recite *sūrat Yūsuf* in Romance" could also be interpreted as mere boasting of this man that he was able to recite this *sūra* in Romance. However, although the context is rather vague, there must have been people in early 12th century Muslim Spain who in fact 'recited' religious texts in Romance. If that were not the case, then the whole discussion would be rather ridiculous. This interpretation therefore does not help us very much.

It is very significant that the accused did not claim that he recited one of the *sūras* which are daily recited during the *ṣalāt* in Romance, but one which also, and perhaps even more frequently, was recited at various kinds of religious assemblies, i.e. at occasions where recitation of the Qur'an is not prescribed by the Law. While this is a very relevant matter with respect to the problem of whether the actual *sūra* was recited, such a distinction is not made by Ibn Rushd (one might suppose that it had served as a 'mitigating' circumstance). It must therefore be deemed irrelevant with respect to the administration of justice.

One might suppose that, if the accusation was false or inaccurate (after all, it will be remembered that only one witness testified that he made this statement), not the actual *sūra*, but the Story of Yūsuf was recited. We know that both versified and prose versions of the

¹¹ Tibawi, "Is the Qur'an translatable?", p. 7.

¹² For him see EI² s.v. [art. J. Robson].

¹³ Apud Tibawi, "is the Qur'an translatable?", p. 9. S. 41: 44 reads: "If we had made it a foreign Qur'ān, they would have said: Why, are not its signs made distinct? What, foreign and Arabic?"

Ḥadīth Yūsuf circulated among the Mudejars, and it is possible that we are actually dealing with a very early version of that very text¹⁴. In this respect we cannot exclude the possibility that the accused was a *qāṣṣ*, a story-teller¹⁵. We know that at this time *quṣṣāṣ* were found in al-Andalus. Ibn ʿAbdūn, a contemporary of Ibn Ruṣhd, mentions them in his *hisba*-treatise¹⁶. It is remarkable that, as far as we can tell, the story-tellers were not favourably looked upon in al-Andalus¹⁷. Can our source be regarded as a witness of an early, perhaps ‘oral phase’ of Islamic Spanish literature? It seems uncertain, but in any case we have here one of earliest references to a phenomenon familiar to it.

For reasons set out below, it seems more likely that the combination of both statements made the accused liable for punishment. The preference for Romance in the case of recitation (allegation b 1) coupled with the rejection of Arabic (allegation b 2) might indicate that some Andalusian Muslims held opinions which bear a resemblance to the linguistic *shuʿūbiyya* of the Middle East¹⁸. The existence of such opinions in al-Andalus is indeed confirmed by another *fatwā* by Ibn Ruṣhd, which reads as follows¹⁹:

A question was submitted to him [sc. Ibn Ruṣhd] -may God be pleased with him- about someone who had said: “One does not need the language of the Arabs”. Is it necessary to take any measures with respect to this person or not? He answered -may God favour him-: This [man] is very ignorant. Let him reconsider his statement and let him show remorse for it, for not a single matter of religion and Islam can be [established] authentically without the language of the Arabs, because God, exalted be He, says: “In a clear Arabic tongue”²⁰. Therefore the questioner said to him: “The person who made this statement is not ignorant [at all], but belongs to those, who study *ḥadīth* and *masāʾil*”²¹. [Having heard this] he said -may God support him-: Even so, it is an even graver stupidity on his part, thus one should tell him: “Repent, and deny it”. However, no measures should be taken against him,

¹⁴ See Klenk, *La Leyenda de Yūsuf*; Menéndez Pidal, *Poema de Yūsuf*.

¹⁵ See on the *qāṣṣ* EI² s.v. [art. Ch. Pellat].

¹⁶ Arabic text, p. 25 / translation (= *Séville Musulmane*), p. 54.

¹⁷ See the afore-mentioned article of Pellat in EI².

¹⁸ The observation that these opinions existed in Muslim Spain has not been made before. In the most important *shuʿūbiyya* source from Muslim Spain, the *Risāla* of Ibn García dating from the 11th century, no indications of a linguistic challenge are found, see: Monroe, *The shuʿūbiyya in al-Andalus*, pp. 14, 27.

¹⁹ Ibn Ruṣhd, *Fatāwā*, p. 545. This *fatwā* was earlier published by ʿAbbās: “Nawāzil Ibn Ruṣhd”, p. 57, no. 29.

²⁰ S. 26: 195.

²¹ Literally: Questions, i.e.: *fatwā* literature.

unless it appears that this [opinion of his] sprang forth from his intention to damage the religion, or something similar, because in that case the *imām* should punish him at his own discretion for having said this, because he has said a terrible thing. God grants [us] success in finding the right way!

The background of this discussion is the position of the Arabic language, which strongly depends on the position of the Qur'ān. In order to place this discussion in perspective we will examine the earliest work on the *uṣūl al-fiqh*, the famous *Risāla fī uṣūl al-fiqh* by al-Shāfi'ī (150/767-204/820), in which this problem is extensively dealt with. The *Risāla* was the first attempt to formulate what Muslims mean when they speak about the sources of the *fiqh* in general and the Qur'ān in particular. Al-Shāfi'ī's work was to become an authoritative work on this subject.

The starting point in al-Shāfi'ī's discussion is the relationship between Arabic and 'adjami' vocabulary in the Qur'ān²². This problem is of great importance for the question whether the grammatical rules to be applied are those of Arabic grammar alone or whether linguistic knowledge of other languages is indispensable as well. Al-Shāfi'ī first of all extols the merits of the Arabic language:

Of all tongues, that of the Arabs is the richest and the most extensive in vocabulary. Do we know any man except a prophet who apprehended it all? However, no portion of it escapes everyone, so that there is always someone who knows it.... In like manner is [the knowledge concerning the] tongue of the Arabs by the elite [*khāṣṣa*] and the common people: No part of it will be missed by all....²³.

The statement that Arabic is of all languages "the richest and the most extensive in vocabulary" was later taken up in the formulation of the doctrine of *ʿidjāz*, the inimitability of the Qur'ān in content and form²⁴. But al-Shāfi'ī lived long before the formulation of that doctrine, and it will be seen that his 'definition' of the Qur'ān is largely based on rational reasoning. What follows is a discussion of the problem whether the Qur'ān contains non-Arabic words. Al-Shāfi'ī's answer to this question is negative, proving the statement

²² Al-Shāfi'ī, *Risāla fī uṣūl al-fiqh*. Translation by Khadduri, *Islamic Jurisprudence*. Shāfi'ī's *Risāla*. Khadduri transposes the discussion of the Arabic character of the Qur'ān to a separate chapter (IV: on the book of God). In the citations of Khadduri's translation I have substituted the word *qya* for communication.

²³ Translation Khadduri, pp. 88-9.

²⁴ See EI² s.v. [art. G.E. von Grunebaum]; Tibawi, "Is the Qur'ān translatable?", p. 11 ff.

that the Qur'ān contains pure Arabic only with evidence from the Qur'ān itself:

Someone may ask: What is the proof that the book of God was [revealed] in a pure Arabic tongue, unmixed with others? [Shāfi'ī replied]: The proof is [to be found] in the Book of God [itself], for God said: We never sent any messenger save with the tongue of his people [S. 14: 4]. But if someone says: [Each of] the messengers before Muḥammad was sent to his own people, while Muḥammad was sent to all mankind [*ilā 'l-nās kāffatan*]. This may either mean that [Muḥammad] was sent with the tongue of his people and that all others must learn his tongue -or whatever they can learn of it- or that Muḥammad was sent with the tongues of all [mankind]. Is there any evidence that he was sent with the tongue of his own people rather than with foreign tongues? Shāfi'ī replied: Since tongues vary so much that different [people] cannot understand one another, some must adopt the language of the others. And preference must be given to the tongue which others adopt. The people who are fit to receive such a preference are those whose tongue is their Prophet's tongue. *It is not permissible -but God knows best- for the people of his [sc. the Prophet's] tongue to become the followers of peoples whose tongues are other than that [of the Prophet] even in a single letter; but rather all other tongues should follow his tongue, and all peoples of earlier religions should follow his religion* [my italics, G.W.]. For God has declared this in more than one āya in His Book. He said: Verily it is the revelation of the Lord of the worlds, brought down by the Faithful Spirit, upon thy heart, that thou mayest be of those who warn, in a clear Arabic tongue [S. 26: 192-5]. And He said: Thus have We sent it down as an Arabic Law [S. 13: 37].... Shāfi'ī said: Thus [God] has given evidence in each of the [foregoing] āyas that His Book is in Arabic, and He confirmed this by His disavowal -glorified be His praise- of any other tongue than the Arabic in two further āyas of His Book. [God], the Blessed and Most High, said: We know well that they say: it is only a human being who teaches him; the tongue of him they hint at is foreign, but this is a clear Arabic tongue [S. 16: 103]. And He said: If we had made it a foreign Qur'ān, they would have said: Why are not its āyas made distinct? What, foreign and Arabic [S. 41: 44]²⁵.

In this passage al-Shāfi'ī, departing from the undoubtedly Arabic character of the Qur'ān, reaches the conclusion that the Arabic language has to be 'followed' by other peoples. He then goes on to explain what he means by 'followed':

Among those favours which [God] made His Prophet cognizant of, is what He said [to him]: It is assuredly a reminder to thee and thy people [S. 43: 44]. Thus [God] has favoured the [Prophet's] people by associating their

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 43-6, translation Khadduri, pp. 90-2.

name with His name in His Book. And He said: And warn thy clan, thy nearest kin [S. 26: 214]. And He said: In order that thou mayest warn the Mother of the Towns and those around it [S. 42: 7]. The Mother of the Towns is Makka, the city [of the Prophet] and of His people. Thus [God] mentioned them in His Book as a special [people] and included them among those who were warned as a whole, and decreed that they were to be warned in their Arabic tongue -the tongue of the [Prophet's] people in particular. It is obligatory upon every Muslim to learn the Arab tongue to the utmost of his power in order [to be able] to profess through it that "there is no God at all but God and Muhammad is His servant and Apostle," and to recite in it [i.e. the Arabic tongue] the Book of God, and to utter in mentioning what is incumbent upon him, the *takbīr*, the *tasbīḥ*, the *ta-shahhūd* and others. Whatever learning he gains of the language which God made to be the language of him [Muḥammad], by whom He sealed His prophethood and by whom He revealed the last of His Books- is for his [man's] welfare, just as it is his [duty] to learn [how] to pray and recite the *dhikr* in it, to visit the [Sacred] House and perform its duties, and to be a follower [in the performance] of the duties imposed upon him or recommended to him, [rather] than to be followed.... Calling the attention of the public to the fact that the Qur'ān was revealed in the Arab tongue in particular is [a sincere piece] of advice to [all] Muslims²⁶.

From this passage it clearly appears that al-Shāfi'ī is aware of the existence of non-Arabophone Muslims. Apparently the term 'follow' is to be interpreted as the duty to learn as much Arabic as is needed to be able to carry out one's religious obligations. This discussion left the position of the Arabic language in Muslim culture reasonably well defined. Being the language of the Qur'ān, which is the first source of Islamic theology, law and ethics, and the vehicle of the fulfilment of the ritual obligations, it occupies a fundamental place in Muslim religious life²⁷. It is against this background that the *fatwās* in question should be interpreted. In the last-mentioned one, Ibn Rushd's opinion that Arabic is necessary implies he was of the opinion that it can never be abolished as a literary language of the Islamic sciences. It is clear that by maintaining that Arabic is not necessary the accused person infringed the rules. In the first it was probably the combination of the derogatory remark about the Arabic language and the claim of having recited the Qur'ān in Romance that made the accused liable for punish-

²⁶ Al-Shāfi'ī, *Risāla*, pp. 48-50, translation Khadduri, pp. 92-4.

²⁷ It is likely that for this reason the attempt of the linguistic *shu'ūbiyya* to prove that non-Arabic languages and Arabic were equal failed: the superiority of the latter had to be acknowledged (Richter Bernburg, "Linguistic Shu'ūbiyya", pp. 62-3).

ment. However, we cannot conclude from the *Risāla* or the *fatwās* discussed above that Muslim scholars rejected (Islamic) vernacular literature per se. Judging on the basis of these *fatwās* alone, one might even assume that both accused persons lived in a society in which a corpus of vernacular Islamic literature was already extant. But other evidence on literature and the literary languages in use in Muslim Spain does not confirm that assumption. The data on the Christians and Jews of al-Andalus seem to indicate that in the field of their literary cultures Arabization took place to a certain extent. A considerable part of the Christian literary legacy, including part of the scriptures, was translated from Latin into Arabic during the second half of the 9th century and the 10th century²⁸. This indicates that among the Christian minority of al-Andalus learning in Arabic increased to the detriment of Latin learning. This process was accompanied by a process of Islamisation, which, according to Glick, reached its climax in the 10th century²⁹. A process of Arabisation may be observed among the Jewish minority too³⁰. But a contrary tendency can be observed as well.

In the second half of the 9th century the physician Ibn D̲j̲ul̲d̲j̲ul (332/943 -after 384/994)³¹ initiated the scholarly custom of offering in medical writings Romance synonyms of medical terms in order to achieve a clearer explanation of the sort of medicine one had in mind. These Romance equivalents were given for the first time in his *Tafsīr anwāʿ al-adwiya al-mufrada min kitāb Diyusqūrdūs*, written in 372/982. The custom of mentioning these Romance names was continued in the 11th century in works such as the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* by the Jewish physician Ibn Biklārīsh (ca. 1100) and many others³².

Other evidence of this tendency is the *khardja*, the final strophe (the *simt* or *qufl*) of the *muwashshah* poem. It was Stern who discovered that these were sometimes written in Romance. The *muwashshah* and the *zajal* form the typically Andalusian contribu-

²⁸ Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic glossary of the Leiden University Library*, pp. 44-60; idem, "La literatura cristiano-árabe de la España medieval", passim.

²⁹ Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Middle Ages*, pp. 33-35; but see Wasserstein, *Rise*, p. 226.

³⁰ Peres, "Les elements ethniques de l'Espagne musulmane et la langue arabe, au Ve/XIe siècle", passim; EI² s.v. Judaeo-Arab, III, Judaeo-Arabic literature [art. G. Vajda].

³¹ EI², s.v. [art. A. Dietrich].

³² EI² s.v. [art. A. Dietrich], see also Simonet, *Glosario*, p. CXLII.

tion to Arabic poetry, usually referred to as Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry.

The difference between the *zadjal* and the *muwashshah* is that the former was written in Spanish Arabic, while the *muwashshah* was written in classical Arabic, and only the *khardja* in the vernacular, viz. Romance or Spanish Arabic (the dialect which in Muslim Spain came into being as a second vernacular). The *muwashshah* was invented in the 10th century by a poet from Cabra³³. It reached its richest form in the early 11th century. The earliest extant examples of *muwashshahāt* with Romance *khardjas* also date from this period³⁴. The last poet known to have written *muwashshahāt* with Romance *khardjas* is Ibn Luyūn (1282-1349). It should be added that there were also Jewish *muwashshah* poets. The tendency described above can therefore not be identified with Muslim literary culture alone.

Heger has remarked that the significance of the strophic poetry in Romance and Spanish Arabic is the “Schriftfähigkeit der volkssprachlichen Dichtung”³⁵. If this view is accepted, one might argue that from a formal point of view these Romance strophes and Islamic Spanish literature are different stages of the process in which Spanish became a literary language of Islam. But a problem may be to what extent these *muwashshahāt* were put into writing. Ibn Khaldūn tells us that the *muwashshah* poet Yahyā b. Bāqī (d. 540/1145) “tore up” his poem during a gathering in Seville. From this it appears that he must have had his text on some sort of sheet³⁶. However, al-Marrākushī (born 581/1185), a Muslim chronicler living in the period of the Almohads, refers to a certain restraint with regard to quoting them in codices³⁷. Referring to the art of composing *muwashshahāt* he mentions the well-known poet Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk (c. 550/1155-608/1211)³⁸, whom he had met in Marrakesh and says about him:

He has practised many poetical styles, and excelled in the majority of these. With respect to the *muwashshahāt* he is the leading *imām* and his method,

³³ Stern, *Les chansons mozarabes*, p. XVII.

³⁴ Cf. Stern, *Les chansons mozarabes*, no. 28, *muwashshah* by Ibn al-Mu‘allim, vizir of Al-Mu‘tamid, ruler of Seville, and no. 32, *muwashshah* by Khumayt from Badajoz.

³⁵ Heger, “Die bisher veröffentlichten Hargas und ihre Deutungen”, p. 51.

³⁶ Apud Monroe, “The Tune or the Words? (Singing Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry)”, p. 268, cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, vol. 3, pp. 442-3.

³⁷ EI² s.v. ‘Abd al-Wāhid al-Marrākushī [art. E. Lévi-Provençal].

³⁸ EI² s.v.

which everyone tries to imitate, is the highest. He is the most skilled in the art of composing the *muwashshahāt*. If it had not been customary not to mention the *muwashshahāt* in bound books meant for eternity, I would have mentioned something of what I know by heart of his compositions³⁹.

What were the reasons for this restraint? First of all, the background may be different strands of objections felt by pious Muslims towards the *muwashshah*. Of these, the fact that a small part of some of these poems was in Romance must have been only a secondary consideration. Another factor may have been the distrust felt by some of *fuqahā'* towards music and perhaps a dislike of the morally lax atmosphere of some of the courts where the *muwashshahāt* flourished. Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk remarked on the rules according to which the *khardja* was composed that "it should be Hajājīan in regard to frivolity, Quzmanian in regard to the use of the vernacular, hot and burning, close to the language of the common people and the phraseology of thieves", and: "the *kharija* is the spice (*ibzār*) of the *muwashshah*, its salt and sugar, its musk and amber⁴⁰".

This last observation reminds us that the anecdotes in al-Khushanī's *History of the qādīs of Cordoba* reveal the same love for pun and the same earthly atmosphere: the themes of the *khardjas* were panegyric, satirical, obscene or amorous. For our study the problem of the original 'Sitz im Leben' of the Romance *khardjas*, still a much debated issue⁴¹, is irrelevant. What matters is that they were incorporated in Arabic poetry to be rendered during assemblies at Muslim courts. It can be concluded that the popularity of the genre reflects the taste of the Muslim population of al-Andalus. In this respect it should be pointed out that al-Marrākushī's report may not be representative of Andalusian customs and that there was possibly less hesitation about quoting these poems or including them in bound books than al-Marrākushī suggests. After all, he wrote his *al-Muʿdijib* in the East, probably in Baghdad, and might have had particular reasons (for example the demands of the person to whom he dedicated his work) not to quote *muwashshahāt* in his work.

³⁹ *Al-Muʿdijib*, p. 146; translation Huici de Miranda, p. 73, also mentioned in Stern, *Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry*, p. 4 n. 5, p. 107.

⁴⁰ Apud Stern, *Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry*, pp. 158-60 / translation p. 334.

⁴¹ See for example Rubiera, "La lengua romance de las jarchas (una jarcha en lengua occitana)", pp. 319-29.

Conclusion

In this section we have examined mainly evidence from the period of the Party-kingdoms and the Almoravids. It appears that Muslims made use of Romance in their scientific works and secular poetry in this period. We have also seen that some Muslims in al-Andalus even held what might be termed ‘linguistic *shu‘ūbi*’ opinions. In spite of this it was not possible to assert with a sufficient degree of certainty that Islamic Spanish literature came into existence at that time, though it may well be argued that the first signs of its coming into being are detectable.

II.2. ORAL AND LITERARY USE OF ROMANCE IN AL-ANDALUS DURING THE DOMINATION OF THE ALMOHADS AND THE TRANSITION TO MUDEJAR ISLAM: THE SPANISH VERSIONS OF IBN TŪMART’S *MURSHIDA*

In the following two sections I will in the first place examine the use of the Berber language during the Almohad period (II.2.1.) and secondly (II.2.2.) the question whether the Almohad movement had any influence on the birth of Islamic Spanish literature.

II.2.1. *The use of the Berber language under the Almohads*

In the preaching of Ibn Tūmart (ca. 471/1078-524/1130), the founder of the Almohad movement, the doctrine of the *tawhīd*, the Unicity of God, played a crucial role⁴². In one of his letters to the Almohad community Ibn Tūmart described it as “the basis of your religion [*asās dīnikum*], and whoever knows it will be as free from sin as on the day he was born and whoever dies with it will enter Paradise”⁴³.

As the basis of Ibn Tūmart’s spiritual reform (which we do not need to described here), he wrote an *‘aqīda* entitled *al-tawhīd* in the Berber language in order to propagate it among his fellow-tribesmen, the Maṣmūda⁴⁴.

⁴² See on Ibn Tūmart: Nadjīdār, *Al-Mahdt ibn Tūmart*, Bourouiba, *Ibn Tumart*; on the Almohad movement: Le Tourneau, *The Almohad movement*.

⁴³ “Wa-man ta‘allamu tawhīdahū *kharāḍja* min *dhunūbihi* ka-yawm waladathu ummuhū fa-in māta ‘alā *dhālika* fa-huwa min ahl al-*djanna*”, *Documents inédits*, p. 5 / translation p. 7. The authenticity of this assertion is confirmed by other sources, such Ibn Abī Zar‘, *Qirṭās*, p. 177, translation Huici de Miranda, vol. 2, p. 352.

⁴⁴ Al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu‘dijib*, p. 187.

According to the earliest sources Ibn Tūmart only composed this work in Berber, and this is confirmed by the chronicler al-Marrākushī in his *Al-muʿdḍib fī talkhīs akhbār al-Maghrib*, finished in 621/1224, and in the *Qirṭās*, a work written shortly after 1326⁴⁵.

Ibn Khaldūn, however, reports that Ibn Tūmart wrote two works in the Berber language: the *Murshida*⁴⁶ and the *Tawhīd*⁴⁷, while the late 14th-century chronicle *Al-hulal al-mawshīyya* (probably completed in about 1381) mentions the most extensive use made of the Berber language. It tells us:

the first thing he [Ibn Tūmart] did to organise their lives [namely of his followers] was to write for them a book called *al-tawhīd* in the Berber tongue which consisted of seven sections [*ahzāb*], [coinciding with] the number of days of the week. He ordered them to recite a *hizb* each day after the *salāt al-subḥ*, after the recitation of the *hizb* of the Qurʾān He also wrote a book called *al-qawāʿid* and another called *al-imāna*, both of which can be found among the people up to the present time; both [were written] in Arabic and Berber. He was the most eloquent [*afṣaḥ*] of mankind in the Berber and the Arab language. He delivered to them in the Berber tongue exhortations [*al-mawāʿiẓ*] and examples [*al-amthāl*] and pointed out to them his intentions

The seeming contradictions between these reports may be resolved if we take into consideration that the two *Murshidas* can be seen as summaries of the first *ʿaqīda*. The former were probably addressed to the common people.

That the Berber language was also used to deliver *khutbas* follows from a report in the *Qirṭās*, in which it is told that after the conquest of Fās the then *khaṭīb* Abū Muḥammad Mahdī b. ʿĪsā was suspended and Abū ʿl-Ḥasan b. ʿAṭīyya was appointed *khaṭīb* in his place, because the latter mastered the Berber language. Moreover, the same source relates that the Almohads only appointed as *khaṭīb* or *imām* those men who knew the *tawhīd* in the Berber tongue⁴⁸. Finally, the Berber language was used in *fiqh* as well. In the biography of Sālim b. Salāma al-Sūsī al-Maghribī (d. 589/1193) it

⁴⁵ *Qirṭās*, p. 177, translation Huici de Miranda, vol. 2, p. 352. See on the dating of this work: Beck, *L'image d'Idrīs II*, pp. 54 ff.

⁴⁶ Published by Goldziher, "Bekenntnisformeln" and *Nadīdjār*, *Al-mahdī ibn Tūmart*, p. 447 ff; translated into French by Massé, "La profession de foi".

⁴⁷ *Kitāb al-ʿibar*, vol. 1, p. 301 / translation De Slane, vol. 2, p. 168 (written between 776/1375 and 788/1379); see also Goldziher, "Materialien", pp. 70-1.

⁴⁸ *Qirṭās*, p. 62, translation Huici de Miranda, vol 1, pp. 137-8.

is remarked that he was able to read (*qadīran ʿalā adāʾ*) *masāʾil* in the Berber language⁴⁹.

Goldziher considers this use of the Berber language to be an adaptation of orthodox Islam to the national demands of the Berbers which, to a certain extent, included liturgy as well⁵⁰. In his study on Almohad literary culture *Al-ʿulūm waʾl-ādāb waʾl-funūn ʿalā ʿahd al-muwahhidīn*, in which the above-mentioned sources are discussed, al-Manūnī observes that since the first addressees of Ibn Tūmart's message, the Berber tribe of the Maṣmūda, did not know Arabic, this use was to be seen as a *darūra*⁵¹. By stressing the limited use of the Berber language al-Manūnī adopts an 'apologetic' point of view, which is remarkable since there only seems to be one indication that the use of the Berber language was not favourably looked upon. That text occurs in reports about the Almohad caliph al-Ma'mūn ibn al-Manṣūr (1227-1232) which may be significant, for his reign marked a break with the Almohad doctrine and a return to the Malikite madhhab⁵². Ibn Khaldūn pictures this caliph as learned in *fiqh*, and strongly opposed to Ibn Tūmart. He forbade all innovations introduced by him, and forbade his being mentioned in the *khutba* and being called *mahdī* any longer. According to Ibn Khaldūn, al-Ma'mūn reproached Ibn Tūmart for the introduction of several *bidʿas*, including rectangular coins and the permission to perform the call to prayer in the Berber language⁵³. If Ibn Khaldūn conveys al-Ma'mūn's point of view correctly, we must assume that Ibn Tūmart allowed the *adhān* to be held in the Berber language, but it may be doubted whether he did picture the nature of Ibn Tūmart's *bidʿa* correctly.

Al-Wanṣharīsī mentions in the *Miʿyār* as *bidʿas* introduced by Ibn Tūmart the introduction of the words "aṣbaḥa wa-lillāh al-ḥamd" and a "repetition of the call (to prayer)"⁵⁴. Indeed, a repetition of the call is much more likely than Ibn Khaldūn's above-mentioned assumption, for if Ibn Tūmart had allowed the *adhān* to be held in the Berber language he would in fact have allowed Arabic to be replaced in this important liturgical text. In this respect it is remark-

⁴⁹ Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-takmilā li-kitāb al-ṣila*, vol. 2, no. 2,006; see on him also Ibn al-Qādī, *Djadhwat al-iqtibās*, p. 521.

⁵⁰ "Materialien", p. 71.

⁵¹ Al-Manūnī, *Al-ʿulūm waʾl-ādāb waʾl-funūn ʿalā ʿahd al-muwahhidīn*, p. 154 ff.

⁵² See on this episode Abun Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, p. 114.

⁵³ Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 1, p. 386, translation De Slane, vol. 2, p. 299.

⁵⁴ Al-Wanṣharīsī, *Miʿyār*, vol. 2, p. 465.

able that al-Wanṣharī does not even mention the Berber language. It was not the use of the Berber language that was considered to be a *bidʿa*, we must presume, but the fact that the call to prayer was repeated.

II.2.2. *The Spanish translations of Ibn Tūmart's Murshida*

While we have no indications that any of the Berber versions of these Almohad doctrinal works survived, I have found clear evidence that one of the versions of the *Murshida* was translated at some time into Romance. Five Islamic Spanish MSS are said by Harvey to include a text called *al-murshida*⁵⁵. (1,2) *Discurso de la Luz*, the poem by Muḥammad Rabadan: London, B.M., Harley 3501 (Saa 68) and Paris, B.N. Esp. 259 (Morel Fatio 39, Saa 61) (in Spanish).

(3) Madrid, R.A.H. V 8 (Saa 101), no. 2 and no. 3; described by Gayangos (?) as “one piece”; namely *Oración llamada al-morxida* and *testimonio de la fe*. Saavedra attributes the Aljamiado MS to the last third of the 16th century.

(4) MS 1223 of the Bibliothèque Mèjanes in Aix-en-Provence (dated on the fly-leaf to 1609), on f. 47r: *al-murshida para las pascuas* (in Aljamiado)⁵⁶.

(5) Paris B.N. Ar. 425, f. 27r-32v, which contains the Arabic text and interlinear Aljamiado translation of a text headed *al-murshida para kaḍa mañana*⁵⁷. This MS was partially translated by Silvestre de Sacy and published by Ben Jemia, although neither De Sacy nor Ben Jemia identified the text as the Almohad creed⁵⁸. Moreover, an *al-murshida* is found in R.A.H. T 1 (Saa 75) (in Aljamiado), and as we will see below, we find the same text in Madrid, B.N. 5252.

I have not been able to find an *al-murshida* in (1) and (2), and was unable to see (3) and (4). The text quoted in (4) may be a *duʿā* of some sort. However, there can be no doubt that the *almurshida para kaḍa mañana* in (5) must be identified as a translation of Ibn Tūmart's second *Murshida*.

⁵⁵ Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, p. 116.

⁵⁶ MS described in Cantineau, “Lettre”, pp. 1-5.

⁵⁷ For a description: Saa 59, 3. The MS is used in López-Morillas, *The Qurʾān*, see especially p. 19 where additional observations on the MS can be found. López-Morillas supposes on linguistic evidence that the MS dates from the 16th century (*ibidem*, pp. 44-5).

⁵⁸ De Sacy, “Manuscrits”; Ben Jemia, “Almursida [sic]”.

The discovery that this text existed in a Spanish translation raises several questions. We have seen that the *Murshida* occupied an important place in Almohad religious life, and that it was read and written not only in Arabic but also in the Berber language. The MSS that I have been able to study are of no great help in establishing when this text was translated. Paris, B.N. Ar. 425, as appears from the watermarks, dates from the 16th century⁵⁹. The same seems to hold true for the other MSS. In spite of this there are several reasons to assume that the earliest translation took place in the 13th century.

It is known that the *‘aqīdas* of Ibn Tūmart circulated in Christian Spain in the early 13th century. D’Alverny and Vajda point out that they were translated into Latin by Mark of Toledo in about 1213⁶⁰. Mark translated these *‘aqīdas* after he had completed a Latin translation of the Qur’ān in 606/1209-10, under the patronage of the archbishop of Toledo Rodrigo Jiménez and archdeacon Magister Mauritius. He felt that it was necessary for the Qur’ān to be clarified for the benefit of Christian theologians who might study it in the future, and for this reason translated these *‘aqīdas*, of which he states that they were widely read in “that part of the Islamic empire which belonged to the Carthago of Dido” (present-day Tunisia⁶¹). It seems to follow that by translating them Mark hoped to give a fair representation of Muslim thought. D’Alverny assumes that Mark may have had ‘inside information’ about the significance of these works⁶².

The text of the second *Murshida* (there are two) which Mark translated is a shorter version, which does not contain an account of the eschatological events as in the version published by Goldziher⁶³. Paris, B.N. Ar. 425 coincides with the shorter version of

⁵⁹ Watermark *sphère*, see Briquet, *Filigranes*, no. 13,955 - no. 14,072 (1548-1600).

⁶⁰ D’Alverny and Vajda, “Marc de Tolède”, pp. 281-2; see also D’Alverny, “Marc de Tolède”, *passim*.

⁶¹ The Almohad doctrine was still alive in Hafsid Tunisia until the beginning of the 14th century (Le Tourneau, “Sur la disparition de la doctrine almohade”, p. 198).

⁶² D’Alverny, “Marc de Tolède”, p. 43.

⁶³ On the basis of De Sacy’s description one might conclude that it was the longer version (reproduced in Goldziher, “Bekenntnisformeln”) which was translated into Romance, but De Sacy’s assessment is probably based upon a wrong interpretation of the text, for the *Murshida* is followed by a *du‘ā*, headed by the words “esto debe dezir kada per’sona ku’ando amaneze” on f. 32v (this is an invocation said when getting up in the morning, see: Ibn Abī Zayd, *Risāla*, p. 315; *Breviario Sunni* (N 1), f. 63r; *edition*, p. 400), and on f. 34v by another creed in Arabic with Aljamiado interlinear translation, which will be discussed below. Apparently

Mark, but textual differences indicate that there is no connection between them. This does not imply that there is no connection between the Romance translation and the Latin one as such. It is well known that in the process of translation from Arabic into Latin, Romance was used as an oral and later also written intermediary language, and it is conceivable that Mark based his Latin version on one of the Islamic Spanish translations, although this last hypothesis can at present not be verified. Moreover, it is plausible that these texts were translated into Spanish at a very early stage since we know that such ample use was made of the Berber language. The examples mentioned in the previous paragraph strongly indicate that the early Almohad conquests in Morocco were coupled with a policy to propagate the use of the vernacular. We do not know whether the Almohads followed the same sort of cultural policy in Spain. If such a policy indeed existed, it seems likely that instead of the Berber language the use of Spanish should be propagated among the Hispanophone Muslims in the Northern parts of Spain. The stage in which the translation took place may be characterized as the transition to Mudejar Islam, for as yet it remains uncertain whether the doctrinal text was translated in Muslim or Christian territory⁶⁴.

Since it appears that the *Murshida* enjoyed some currency among the Mudejars it seems likely that many of them once were adherents of the Almohad doctrine. As was seen above, in Almohad times the *ʿaqidas* were to be read after the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*, viz. after the light of the new day can be seen and before daybreak. The indication *al-murshida para kaḍa mañana* in Paris, B.N. Ar. 425 suggests the same instruction. The presence of believers of the Almohad persuasion must have had important consequences in Mudejar society, which we do not know of owing to a lack of sources⁶⁵.

De Sacy assumed that these two other texts were part of the *Murshida*.

⁶⁴ It will be remembered that upon the conquest of Seville a member of the family of ʿAbd al-Muʿmin was appointed head of the Mudejars. The same happened in Valencia, where Almohad governors accepted leading positions in Mudejar Islam, see Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders*, pp. 32-37; idem, "Príncipe Almohade".

⁶⁵ One might speculate on whether the migration of Muslims to the northern parts of Castile from the end of the 12th century onwards was due to a suppression of the Almohad doctrine in the Maghrib. It is well-known that the early Almohads considered the *djihād* against the Almoravids to be much more important than the *djihād* against the Christians (Bourouiba, *Ibn Tumart*, p. 97). Did this doctrine induce later adherents to choose emigration to Christian territory? On this as yet unexplained migration see: Ladero Quesada, "Los Mudéjares de Castilla en la Baja Edad media", p. 354.

Conclusion

From the sources we have examined above it does not appear that Maghribi scholars reproved the use of the vernacular. We have speculated on whether there is a connection between the origins of Islamic Spanish literature and the Almohad use of the vernacular. Evidence at present available does not allow us to say more than that this may have been one of the factors in the complex process that was the birth of Islamic Spanish literature.

Let us turn to vernacular literature. If, as has been argued, there were no objections of a religious nature against it we may go on to ask whether there were any circumstances which might positively have favoured such a development. An important factor seems to have been the drive to spread Islam among non-Arabic speaking people. We have seen that this was one of the motives for the use of the Berber language in the Almohad movement. Schimmel argues that Sufism was also a force in the birth of vernacular literature. According to her the Sufi leaders had to take resort to vernaculars to be able to address their simple disciples, thereby enriching these vernaculars to such an extent, that these became a suitable literary medium for non-mystical writers⁶⁶.

Finally, it seems likely that the existence of vernacular literature among indigenous populations before the arrival of Islam to their territories considerably facilitate the birth of Islamic vernacular literature. This was not the case in al-Andalus, for written literature in Romance did not yet exist in the 10th century.

⁶⁶ Schimmel, *Mystische Dimensionen des Islam*, p. 59. Schimmel only mentions examples from the Middle East and India.

CHAPTER THREE

THE USE OF ROMANCE AS A MEDIUM OF WRITTEN EXPRESSION AMONG THE MUDEJARS UNTIL 1456

III.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the reader will find a survey of Mudejar literary culture in Spanish which came into existence before 1456, the year in which Yça translated the Qur'ān into Spanish. The sources which will be discussed are of a very diverse nature and in order to present them systematically this chapter has been divided into three sections. The first section deals with the involvement of Mudejars in the transmission of learning. In the second section Islamic Spanish texts which were meant to be read by Christians are studied. These can be divided into legal codes and religious works of a literary character. Finally, Islamic Spanish texts meant for 'internal' use by the Mudejar community are studied.

III.2. THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE MUDEJARS IN THE TRANSMISSION OF LEARNING

Many pages have been devoted to the transmission of learning from the Arab world to medieval Europe. I will limit myself here to a discussion of those points which are of direct interest for our subject.

It is generally assumed that the process of diffusion of Arabic learning in the West was the result of a form of cooperation between Muslims, Jews and Christians. As far as we know, the process took mainly place in Sicily and Christian Spain, regions which attracted scholars from all over Europe who came to study and translate works of learning from Arabic into Latin¹. In Chris-

¹ From the *ḥisba* treatise by a Muslim inhabitant of Seville, Muhammad b. Ahmad Ibn ʿAbdūn, who lived in the second half of the 11th/ beginning of the 12th century, it appears that Jews and Christians also travelled to *dār al-islām* in order to purchase books, see *Séville musulmane*, p. 128; on Ibn ʿAbdūn: EI² s.v. [art. F. Gabrieli].

tian Spain, Romance was used as the 'instrumentary', 'oral', intermediary language until the 13th century. It was the language mastered by all parties involved in the process. This changed in the 13th century, in particular during the reign of Alfonso el Sabio (1252-1287). From that time onwards the Romance versions were written down as well². Under the patronage of Alfonso a huge corpus of Spanish works came into existence, including not only translations but also many fresh compilations, such as the *Crónica de España*, the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* etc.

In the following pages we will examine to what extent Mudejars may have been involved in this process. Little has been written on this particular issue. Fortunately, two recent publications have examined the contribution of the distinctive religious groups in Christian Spain. The first, by Gil, examines the role of the Jews in the so-called *Escuela de traductores de Toledo*³. The second study, by Van Koningsveld, is a comparison of the Andalusian-Arabic MSS circulating among the three religious minorities in Christian Spain: the Jews, the Mozarabs and the Mudejars⁴. This study yielded important results, to which we will turn in Chapter Six. It appears that the Arabic MSS circulating among the Mudejars were for the greater part connected with religion (i.e. Islam), whereas the MSS copied, or possessed, by Jews were mainly of a scientific and a philosophical nature. From this Van Koningsveld concludes that the Jews played a key-role in the transmission of Arabic learning to the West⁵. But this does not imply that Mudejars were not involved at all.

It is very interesting to notice that several MSS circulating among the Jews were copied by Muslim scribes⁶. However, the evidence of the *colophons* of these MSS shows that these scribes were not Mudejars, but prisoners of war or perhaps even slaves. The same may be the case with many other 'Saracens' referred to in the sources. Let us take Hermannus Teutonicus, to whom several translations in Latin and Romance are attributed. He worked in Toledo between 1240 and 1256, in the service of Manfred (d.

² Menéndez Pidal, "Cómo trabajaron las escuelas alfonsíes", p. 366.

³ Gil, *La Escuela de Traductores*.

⁴ Van Koningsveld, "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts"; idem, "Supplementary Notes".

⁵ Van Koningsveld, "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts", p. 31.

⁶ Van Koningsveld, "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts", pp. 89-90, appendix no. 73 (cf. idem, "Supplementary Notes", appendix XVII), no. 98 and no. 105.

1266)⁷, the son of king Frederic II of Sicily between 1258 and 1266⁸, and, upon his return to Spain in 1266 became bishop of Astorga⁹. About his knowledge of Arabic Roger Bacon remarked: "He did not know Arabic well, as he admitted himself, because he was an assistant in these translations rather than a translator, for he had with him in Spain Saracens who played an important role in his translations"¹⁰. Equally uncertain is the evidence about a certain Muḥammad who allegedly contributed, though much earlier, to the Cluniac translation of the Qur'ān (1143)¹¹. Again it cannot be ascertained whether Muḥammad was a Mudejar. Much more conclusive is the evidence found about the activities of Muḥammad al-Riqūṭī (fl. ca. 1250) and Ibn Andarās (d. 674/1275-6).

Muḥammad al-Riqūṭī was a Muslim scholar who taught for some time in the service of Alfonso X el Sabio¹², although apart from this not much is known about him. There are only two sources of information, the Muslim chroniclers Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713/1313-

⁷ With respect to Manfred as a patron of the diffusion of Muslim learning in the West we have the valuable report of the Muslim scholar Ibn Wāsil in his *Mufarriḍj al-kurāb ft akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, vol. 4, pp. 248-9. Ibn Wāsil (see on him EI² s.v. [art. Gamal el Din el-Shayyal]) visited Italy in 1261 and met Manfred several times. He writes about Manfred's scientific interest and says that he had founded a 'house of learning' (*bayt 'ilm*) in the city of Lucera, in which all sorts of theoretical sciences (*'ulūm naẓariyya*) were studied. Ibn Wāsil in particular mentions the presence of Muslims from Sicily in the city of Lucera, and says that they were allowed to practise their faith; the *ṣalāt al-ḍjum'a* was held there, and the *shf'ar* [sic] *al-islām* [i.e. the ritual marks of Islam], were made visible [viz. in public life]. Ibn Wāsil clearly connects the presence of these Muslims with the founding of the 'House of Learning'. In view of the family ties between the royal families of Sicily and Castile one wonders whether there may have been some sort of connection between their respective cultural policies. Be that as it may, the case of Hermannus, but also of several other translators, such as the well-known Michaelus Scotus (see Gil, *La Escuela*, p. 53 ff.), indicate that some Christian translators worked both in Sicily and Spain and connected the activities in both countries.

⁸ LM s.v. Friedrich (no. 2).

⁹ See on him Gil, *La Escuela*, p. 55.

¹⁰ Lucquet, "Hernan l'Allemand", p. 416, "Nec Arabicum bene scivit, ut confessus est, quia magis adiutor fuit translationum quam translator; qui Sarascenos tenuit secum in Hispania, qui fuerunt in suis translationibus principales", cf. Gil, *La Escuela*, p. 55.

¹¹ D'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran", p. 71: "Enfin, Pierre le Vénérable réussit à recruter un Sarrazin répondant au nom peu distinctif de Mohammed pour 'garantir la fidélité' des traductions. La personnalité de ce dernier acolyte est restée dans l'ombre, pour des raisons de prudence qu'il est facile à diviner", and, in the same article, p. 77: "Le Coran est la pièce de résistance, et il est probable que c'est pour le Livre saint des Musulmans, d'interprétation particulièrement difficile, que furent requis les services du Sarrazin Mahomet", cf. *ibidem*, p. 85.

¹² Fernández y González, *Estado*, p. 100; Martínez Ripoll, "Aportaciones a la vida cultural", p. 36, Chorão Lajavo, "Túnis e o primeiro *studium arabicum*", p. 239; Van Koningsveld, "Andalusian-Arabic manuscripts", pp. 81-2.

776/1375) and al-Maqqarī (ca. 986/1577-1041/1632). Unfortunately the latter is completely dependent on the former. Ibn al-Khaṭīb's report reads as follows:

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Riqūṭī al-Mursī He was outstandingly eminent in his knowledge of the ancient arts: logic, mathematics, arithmetic, music and medicine. He was a philosopher and an expert physician, a sign of God in the knowledge of languages. He taught the nations *in their own languages* [my italics] the arts they wished to learn The Tyrant-King of the Christians knew (the rank) to which he was entitled (because of his scholarship), after he had conquered Murcia. Thus he built for him a *madrasa* in which he could teach the Muslims, Christians and Jews and (where) he continued to be held in esteem by him (i.e. the King)¹³.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb moreover writes that al-Riqūṭī had contact with the King, who apparently once hinted at the favourable consequences which might ensue if only he were to convert to Christianity. Ibn al-Khaṭīb mentions his unease and how al-Riqūṭī, at the instigation of the second Naṣrid Sultan (viz. Muḥammad II al-Faṭḥ, reigned 671/1272-701/1302), emigrated to Granada, where he was held in high esteem until he died¹⁴.

There are two major points of interest in this report: (a) the nature of this *madrasa* and (b) the use of Romance by a Mudejar involved in the transmission of learning. On the subject of (a) several theories have been advanced. These are all based upon the assumption that the *madrasa* was in the city of Murcia. This, however, does not necessarily follow from Ibn al-Khaṭīb's report. It only seems certain that the Christian king, undoubtedly the future Alfonso X (he was not yet king at the time), enabled al-Riqūṭī to teach Muslims, Christians and Jews after the conquest of Murcia in 1243. From this it does indeed follow (see (b) mentioned above) that Romance, being the language understood by all religious groups, was an important element in his teaching. The nature of al-Riqūṭī's teaching, in addition to the fact that he seems to have been a central figure, makes it hard to believe that *madrasa* is the correct designation for the institution referred to by Ibn al-Khaṭīb. In an ordinary *madrasa* usually more than one teacher is active, and particularly the traditional sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-naqliyya*, i.e. those

¹³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Ḡharnāṭa*, vol. 3, pp. 67-8. I quote the translation of Van Koningsveld, "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts", pp. 81.

¹⁴ Van Koningsveld, "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts", pp. 81-2.

sciences connected with religion) were taught¹⁵. For this reason various explanations have been sought for the use of the term. Several authors associate it hypothetically with the *Studium Linguarum* of the Dominicans founded with the support of the Castilian and Aragonese kings in the city of Murcia¹⁶. As we have seen above, it was only after the suppression of the general revolt of the Mudejars that the Aragonese king entered Murcia. For that reason the foundation of that *Studium* must be dated after 1266. A passage in a work of the Muslim scholar and then inhabitant of Murcia, Ibn Rashīq (d. after 674/1274-5), is about polemics between the Mudejars and several monks who had come to Murcia in order to devote themselves to Arabic studies, both scientific and religious, and to “attract weak minds”¹⁷. De la Granja argues that Ibn Rashīq’s report should not be dated much later than 1243¹⁸. Although his arguments are not very strong, his dating in the period before 1264 is later confirmed by Martínez Ripoll, who found evidence that a Dominican convent indeed existed in Murcia as early as 1253¹⁹. From this it appears that some members of the Dominican order were already present in the city before the revolt of 1264²⁰. Therefore the *madrasa* cannot be identified with the Dominican *Studium Linguarum* which, as I said before, was founded in the city after 1266. In view of the strong accent on the involvement of the Castilian king in the activities of al-Riqūṭī it also seems unlikely that the small Dominican convent in Murcia is to be identified with the *madrasa*. In view of the above, the question of the background of Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s remark cannot be explained satisfactorily if we assume that the *madrasa* he speaks of was indeed in the city of Murcia.

An answer can be found, however, if we assume that Ibn al-Khaṭīb was referring to events that took place in Seville. First of all, if the institution referred to as a *madrasa* was in Seville, it may

¹⁵ El² s.v. *madrasa* [several authors], cf. Van Koningsveld, “Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts”, p. 82.

¹⁶ De la Granja, “Una polémica”, p. 59; Chorão Lavajo, “Túnis e o primeiro *studium arabicum*”, p. 239; Van Koningsveld, “Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts”, pp. 81-2.

¹⁷ Miṣyār, vol. 11, p. 155 / translations in De la Granja, “Una polémica”, p. 67 ff., Van Koningsveld, “Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts”, p. 82.

¹⁸ “Una polémica”, p. 57.

¹⁹ “Aportaciones a la vida cultural”, pp. 38-9. The author based himself on the Manuel J. de Medrano’s *Historia de la Orden de Predicadores* (1727). According to Martínez Ripoll Medrano referred to original documents of this convent, which are no longer extant today.

²⁰ Chorão Lavajo, “Túnis e o primeiro *studium arabicum*”, does not mention this convent.

have been identical with the *Estudio general* founded in that city by Alfonso in 1254. Not much is known about the *Estudio*, but from a royal document it appears that the study of Arabic and Latin was to occupy a central place. It was recognized as a *studium generale*, the current term for a university, by Pope Alexander IV in 1260²¹. Four months before the afore-mentioned foundation Alfonso wrote a letter to the future bishop of Seville asking permission to use some former mosques “as lodgings for the physicians who came from elsewhere, in order to have them nearby and so that they could teach in them”²². Since there are only minor differences between the functional and architectural aspects of a mosque and a *madrasa*, this assertion provides a plausible explanation for Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s use of the word *madrasa*. It would follow that it is more likely that al-Riqūṭī taught in a secular milieu rather than in a Dominican *Studium*.

It is remarkable, moreover, that several Arabic MSS of Mudejar provenance were written in Seville shortly after the conquest of the city. The contents of these MSS differ from those of the overwhelming majority of the MSS copied by Mudejars. Unlike the majority which, as Van Koningsveld points out, deal with religion, these MSS deal with the ‘*ulūm ‘aqliyya*, the rational sciences. The MSS in question are Rome, Bibliotheca apostolica Vaticana, no. 291, dated 27 *Ramaḍān* 691 (= 1292) or 671 (= 1273), comprising al-Ghazālī’s *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, Ibn Rushd’s *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* and two works related to the afore-mentioned ones by Ibn al-Aṣḥqar

²¹ In the *real carta*, dated Burgos, 28 December 1254, it is stated: “...por grand sabor que e de fazer bien e merced, e levar adelante a la noble cibdat de Seuilla, e enriquecerla e ennoblecer mas ... otorgo que haya hi estudio e escuelas generales de latin e arabigo”, in: *MHE*, vol. 1, p. 54; see also Ballesteros y Beretta, *Sevilla en el siglo XIII*, p. 205 ff. Ajo y Sainz de Zuñiga, *Historia de las universidades hispánicas*, p. 205. Niederehe, *Alfonso X el sabio y la lingüística de su tiempo*, pp. 130-1, points out that it is remarkable that in the aforesaid passage only the study of Latin and Arabic is mentioned, whereas the traditional arts (*artes liberales*) are omitted.

²² Vargas Ponce, *Elogio del rey Don Alfonso el Sabio*, pp. 70-1, “Una escritura, que conserva la Santa Iglesia Hispalense de 25 de Agosto de 1254, dice, que pidió el Rey al Arzobispo y Cabildo unas Mezquitas de las que les habia dado en el repartimiento para morada de los Físicos, que vinieron de allende, é para tenerlos más cerca, é que en ellas fagan la su enseñanza á los que hemos mandado que nos lo enseñen por el su gran saber, ca por eso los hemos ende traido”, cf. Menéndez Pidal, “Cómo trabajaron la escuelas alfonsíes”, p. 367. *Físico* is the Spanish equivalent of Ar. *al-ḥakīm*, a Spanish calque of this word being *alfaquim*. Jewish *alfaquims* were often used as interpreters in the service of Aragonese kings, see: Romano, “Judíos escribanos y trujamanes de árabe en la corona de Aragón (reinados de Jaime I a Jaime II)”, *passim*.

(no copyist is mentioned)²³, Escorial, Cod. Ar. 612, dated *Dhū 'l-hidjdja* 667/ Era 1307 (= 1269), a *maǧmū'a* of philosophical and scientific texts, copied by a Muslim scribe.

These MSS seem to indicate, first of all, that some Muslims in Christian Spain were involved in the Alfonsine translations, although perhaps only as copyists, and secondly, that this activity was concentrated in Seville (there are no MSS from Murcia in the list of Van Koningsveld). This is, of course, different from saying that there was no such activity in Murcia at all²⁴.

A Muslim scholar who stayed as a Mudejar in Murcia for some time was Ibn Andarās. In a bio-bibliographical work by al-*Ghubrīnī* (b. 644/1246) the following is reported of him²⁵. His name was Abū 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Umawī, known as Ibn Andarās. He was a *faqīh* and a *ḥakīm* (physician) born in Murcia (*min ahl Mursiya*), who emigrated to Bidjāya (in North Africa) between 650-1252/3 and 660/1261-2²⁶ and went to the court in Tunis at the invitation of the Hafṣid caliph al-Mustanṣir (1249-1277), where he died in 674/1275-6. He had a son, Yūsuf b. Andarās (d. 729/1329), who also exercised the medical profession²⁷. Ibn Maryam mentions a certain Ibn Andarās, probably to be identified as Yūsuf, as one of the teachers of the well-known *muftī* Ibn 'Arafa²⁸. From al-*Ghubrīnī*'s information it can be deduced that Ibn Andarās emigrated to Tunisia at least ten years after the conquest by the Christians of Murcia in 1243, and it is therefore almost certain that he lived as a Mudejar for some time. Ibn Andarās taught medicine, wrote a poem in the *radjaz*-metre on medication which he completed in Bidjāya and became one of the most famous court physicians²⁹. He also devoted himself to the study of Arabic and theology.

²³ Van Koningsveld, "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts", Appendix I, no. 57, cf. Levi della Vida, "Manoscritti Arabi di Origine Spagnola nella Biblioteca Vaticana", pp. 136-8. Escorial, Cod. Ar. 849 containing Galen, *Fr 'l-quwā al-ṭabf'iyya*, dated 9 October Era 1318 (= 1280) was also copied in Seville (no. 99 of the list of Van Koningsveld). It is not certain that this last MS circulated among the Mudejars.

²⁴ See for example Torres Fontes, "La cultura murgetana", passim.

²⁵ *Unwān al-dirāya fīman 'urifa min al-'ulamā' fi al-mi'a al-sābiya bi-Bidjāya*, pp. 75-6. On Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-*Ghubrīnī*: EI² s.v. (1) [art J.F.P.Hopkins].

²⁶ "fi 'uṣṣhr al-sittīn wa sittimī'a".

²⁷ For him: Ibn Farhūn, *Dibādī*, p. 360.

²⁸ *Al-bustān fī dhikr al-awliyā' wa 'l-'ulamā' bi-Tilimsān*, p. 190.

²⁹ Cf. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientale*, vol. 2, p. 370.

Al-Fāsī identified Ibn Andarās as the author of a treatise in Qarawiyyīn MS 245, dealing with the physical aspects of the horse and its training, which was allegedly translated from ‘*adjāmī*’ into Arabic³⁰. In al-Fāsī’s catalogue this MS is described as a convolute of several hippological treatises, all of them copied at the beginning of the 18th century.

The text was not completely unknown to the learned world. The first who drew attention to it was Mercier in his study and translation of Ibn Hudhayl’s hippological treatise *Hilyat al-fursān*, although Mercier did not know the Qarawiyyīn MS³¹. I have not studied the MS by autopsy. In 1988 Mr. Bū ‘Iyād from Fās made a copy of the folios including this treatise, and provided it with a concise critical apparatus³². It is paginated and consists of 64 pages. References below are given to this MS.

The text is divided into two parts of nearly equal length (pp. 1-19, 20-41), each comprising 12 chapters. The first part is devoted to scientific knowledge about those aspects of the nature of the horse which are of interest to man, the second deals with its training in particular. The introductory words of the text read as follows: “Treatise on the nature of the horse, the different kinds and actions. The *hakīm* Andrād al-Ishbīlī composed it in the ‘*adjāmī*’ language and the purpose is to render it in the Arabic language now, in order to facilitate access to the advantages of its content”³³. From these words it seems to follow that the author did not translate the work himself. This also appears from a passage in chapter 10 of the first part, in which the relationship between the colour of the horse skin and its character is discussed. The final

³⁰ Al-Fāsī: *Fihris makhtutāt khizānat al-Qarawiyyīn*, vol. 1, pp. 258-60.

³¹ *La parure des cavaliers et l’insigne des preux*, vol. 2, p. V, note 3, the reference is given on p. XIV. The work is also included in a list of hippological works written or translated into Arabic (*ibidem*, pp. 431/59). Mercier assumes that the author was not a Muslim and tells us that a Moroccan acquaintance of his had copied for him a MS introduced by the following words: “Hādha kitāb djalīl allafahu al-hakīm Andrād al-Ishbīlī bi ‘l-lisān al-‘adjāmī wa-turjdjimahu [sic, see below] bi ‘l-lisān al-‘arabī”. Mercier characterises the treatise as a “simple traité de dressage sans autre indication de date ni d’origine, mais qui, étant donné son esprit général, doit remonter au moins au XVe siècle”. From the use of the word *tardjama* instead of *inqalaba* (as our MS reads) it might appear that Mercier’s copy differs from ours. I have not been able to locate this second MS.

³² This MS is preserved in the Research Institute for the History of Muslim-Christian Relations, Leiden University.

³³ “ta’līf fī tabī‘at al-khayl wa anwā‘uhā al-mukhtalifa wa af‘āluhā. Allafahu al-hakīm Andrād al-ishbīlī bi ‘l-lisān al-‘adjāmī, wa ‘l-gharad al-‘ān inqilābuhā ila ‘l-lisān al-‘arabī tashīlan li-husul mā tadammunatihī min al-fawā‘id”.

remark (p. 16) of this chapter is that “according to the opinion of the author” (“alā madhhab al-mu'allif”) the ‘blue’ horse (*al-azraq*) is the most noble³⁴. The work is not identical with any of the Arabic hippological treatises known so far, such as the text discussed by Colin³⁵ and Arié³⁶, or the 13th-century Spanish text published by Sachs³⁷. Referring to the a tournament-like game, possible to be identified as the *Juego de cañas*, the author alludes to the fact that it is very ancient and already mentioned in the history of the Romans and other peoples³⁸. The sources most frequently mentioned are Aristotle, Hippocrates (Buqrāt), Galen (Djalīnūs), Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā), and al-Rāzī. One of the characteristics of the treatise is its courtly atmosphere, which is evoked by the anecdotes which relate stories about kings, sultans and emperors, but also by the discussion of offices such as the *shaykh al-iṣṭabla*³⁹, the equerry, and the *shaykh al-riwā'*, the man who waters the horses.

³⁴ This remark indicates that our Arabic text is not a faithful translation of the original, but a paraphrase. There is a clear break of style and contents between p. 41 and p. 42. On p. 41, l. 10-11, a short colophon is found. On p. 42 another hippological treatise begins, in which – unlike the *Ta'liḥ ṭabf'at al-khayl* – an abundant number of Islamic sources are quoted. One of the characteristics of Andrād's work is that it does not quote *Hadith* etc. until *bāb* 12 of the second part, where it seems quite clear that the original was fundamentally changed. In the first place, there are a number of duplications (compare p. 38, l. 10 and p. 41 l. 10; p. 37 l. 15-16 and p. 40 l. 14-15). The concluding words “the end of the book on the horse etc.” (p. 40 l. 12-3) are located on a strange place. The final colophon follows only on p. 41 l. 10-11. Moreover, this is the first chapter in which *Hadith* is quoted, namely a tradition which reads: “In kāna al-shu'm fa-fi (thalāth) al-mar'a wa'l-dār wa'l-faras”. According to Lane (*Lexicon*, s.v. *shu'm*) this amounts to saying: “If there be that whereof the consequence is disliked, or hated or feared [or if there be unluckiness] (it is in three things) the wife and the house and the horse”. This tradition is also mentioned in the *Concordance* and sources such as Imru' al-Qays (from his *Mu'allaqāt* the verse “kumayt yazullu al-libd 'an hāl matnihi kamā zallat al-safwā' bi 'l-mutanazzil” is cited. This verse is translated by Gandz as: “Ein Rotfuchs, der das Satteltuch von der Mitte seines Rückens hinabgleiten lässt, wie der kahle Fels den Absteigenden” (“Die Mu'allāqa der Imrūlqais”, p. 78). These lines are also cited in Ibn Hudhayl, *Hilya*, p. 21 / translation p. 75.

³⁵ “Un nouveau traité d'hippologie”, *passim*.

³⁶ *España Musulmana*, p. 423.

³⁷ *El Libro de los caballos*.

³⁸ p. 31, l. 10: “huwa l'fab qadīm marsūm bi ta'rīkh al-rūm wa ghayrihim”. This may be the description of a game known in medieval Christian Spain as the *Juego de cañas*, the game with the canes, a tournament-like game in which lances called *befordo* or *behordo* were used. It was known in Islamic Spain as well. The Arabic designation of the two parties is *rabf'a*, which may be a calque of Old-Spanish *quadriella*. On this game see also Arié, *España Musulmana*, p. 317.

³⁹ p. 20.

From the above it follows that the identification of Ibn Andarās as the author of a hippological treatise written in Romance, Andrād al-Ishbīlī, cannot be proven as unquestionably correct. At the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century many works of a scientific nature in Latin and Spanish were translated in Morocco, in particular by Muslims of Andalusian descent. The reasons for this phenomenon, noticed by Hajji⁴⁰ and al-Manūnī⁴¹ are still unknown. The same holds true for the way these translators adapted the original works. It cannot be excluded that we are dealing with a pseudepigraph written in this milieu. Moreover, it should be remembered that al-Ghubrīnī does not say that Ibn Andarās wrote a hippological work. Yet it cannot be ruled out that an early Spanish Mudejar text of this nature did indeed exist. In the aforementioned introductory words to our text the unusual use of the 7th stem of the root *qāf-lām-bā*’ does point to a Spanish origin of the translator. This word seems to indicate that he had a form of *verter* or *trasladar* in mind⁴². Moreover, Vargas Ponce cites an interesting fragment of the introduction to the astronomical work *Libro de las tablas Alfonsíes*, translated between 1258 and 1262 in Toledo. In this fragment the scholars who cooperated in this work are mentioned: “se reunieron ... Aben Musio y *Mahomat, de Sevilla* [my italics] y otros mas de cincuenta, que traxo de Gascuna y de Paris con grandes salarios, y mandóles el Rey traducir ...”⁴³. As we have seen above the *ism* of Ibn Andarās was Muḥammad. It seems possible, therefore, that Mahomat de Sevilla is to be identified as Ibn Andarās, alias Andrād al-Ishbīlī, who, as we have seen, had also devoted himself to the study of Arabic. This seems to confirm that Ibn Andarās worked in the service of Alfonso until he emigrated between 650/1252-3 and 660/1261-2 to Bidjāya. There may therefore be some truth in al-Fāsī’s identification. Naturally, this does not resolve the problem of the relationship between the original text and the adaptation, but this problem, which deserves further study, must be left aside here.

⁴⁰ *L’activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l’époque Saʿdide*, vol. 1, pp. 183-91.

⁴¹ “Zāhira taʿrībiyya”, *passim*.

⁴² One would have expected a form of the verb *tardjama*, as in the second MS quoted by Mercier.

⁴³ Apud: Vargas Ponce, *Elogio del Rey Alfonso el Sabio*, p. 70, cf. Gil, *La Escuela*, p. 67.

III.3. ISLAMIC SPANISH LEGAL TEXTS CONNECTED WITH THE ADMINISTRATION OF ISLAMIC LAW BY THE CHRISTIAN AUTHORITIES

III.3.1. *The Leyes de Moros*

The first text which will be dealt with is the *Leyes de Moros*, published by Gayangos in 1853⁴⁴. According to Gayangos a 14th-century MS of this text was at Alcalá de Henares until 1815, whence it disappeared without leaving any trace⁴⁵. Gayangos' edition is based on a copy of the MS of Alcalá de Henares extant in the Library of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. According to Gayangos the underlying MS was written in Latin characters.

The most important characteristic of this text, which deals with laws of marriage, commercial laws, laws of succession and criminal law, but not with the *'ibādāt*, is its archaism and conservatism. The anonymous compiler(s) of the code preserved the perspective of their *fiqh* sources, so that the text is written as if the author lived in Muslim territory. Several examples of this characteristic can be found in Harvey's recent study and there is no need to resume his discussion here⁴⁶. One example may suffice. The regulations with respect to *ridda*, apostasy, dealt with in *Titulo CLXXX* include a provision such as: "the apostates and those who speak badly of the Law are to be put to death"⁴⁷. Although it may have been true that those Mudejars who were guilty of these offences were liable to punishments prescribed by the *Sharī'a*, it must be deemed impossible that converts to Christianity were actually punished in Christian Spain. We shall see that the same perspective is also to be found in the *Breviario Sunni*.

About the dating and localisation of the *Leyes de Moros* nothing can be said with certainty. It is written in Castilian, and does not, like many other Spanish Islamic texts, show Aragonisms. Since the original MS is no longer extant it is impossible to verify the datings suggested by Gayangos. With respect to the 'Sitz im Leben' of this

⁴⁴ In: *MHE* V, pp. 11-235.

⁴⁵ *MHE* vol. V, p. 3 n. 1, p. 5 n. 1. A recent MS of this text is extant in Leiden, U.B. PBL 2733. This MS (written in Latin characters) is of interest because it contains a facsimile of a fragment of the Alcalá de Henares manuscript. I am grateful to Prof. dr. P. Obbema (Leiden) for drawing my attention to this MS.

⁴⁶ Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, p. 74-78.

⁴⁷ *Leyes de Moros*, p. 14, "Los descreidos et los que fablan mal de la ley sean muertos ...".

text both Gayangos and Harvey suggest that it was used by Christians involved in the administration of Islamic law. I agree with them, though it is not necessary to suppose, as Harvey does, that it was used in cases in which both Muslims and Christians were involved: this seems to be contradicted by the laws of marriage. Mixed marriages were strictly forbidden in Christian Spain and there would be no reason to include them in a code dealing with cases involving Muslims and Christians⁴⁸. There is no internal evidence of the 'Sitz im Leben' of the *Leyes de Moros*. It is clearly of Malikite origin, since Malikite authorities as *Ashhab* and *Mālik b. Anas* himself are often quoted.

The most plausible explanation for the existence of such a text is provided by the judicial practice in some Castilian cities. In the city of Burgos, for example, the administration of Islamic law was entirely in the hands of Christian judges practically from the moment that Mudejars, migrating from the south, settled there in the 12th century. Fernando IV (1295-1312) confirmed in 1304 a privilege of his father Sancho IV (1284-1295), given in 1293:

...Because the Consejo of the noble city of Burgos, head of Castile and my Chamber showed me when I resided in their city that they [viz. the *Consejo*] had a privilege of my father don Sancho, whom God may forgive, in which it is said that the lawsuits which occur between the Moors are to be judged by the *alcaldes* of the city, as had been the custom during the reign of other kings ... and that they did not have a separate *alcalde* or *merino*, they asked me a favour, since they used to do this during the reign of other kings and mine [as well]. And to do good to the Consejo of Burgos, and because of the many good services they rendered me in the past and will render me in the future, I have deemed it right and order that the lawsuits which occur between the Moors living in the city of Burgos and its surrounding district [*alfoz*] are to be judged by the *alcaldes* of the city, as they used to ... and that they will not have other *alcaldes* or separate *alcaldes* and *merinos* ...⁴⁹.

⁴⁸ The *Leyes de Moros* also include a specimen in Spanish of a marriage contract, in which the names and amounts could be filled in on the indicated spaces, cf. p. 233: "Et esta carta es de casamiento entre fulan fijo de fulan et fulana fija de fulano ...". Gayangos was of the opinion that this contract was not part of the *Leyes de Moros* itself. He did not make it clear on which evidence he based this opinion.

⁴⁹ "... Porque el Consejo de la muy noble Cibdad de Burgos Caveza de Castilla e mi Camara me mostraron aora quando Yo fui en su lugar, como han privilegio del rey Don Sancho mi padre que Dios perdone, en que dice que los pleytos que acaescen entre los moros que los libren los alcaldes de la villa, asi como usaron en tiempo de los otros //f. 236v// reyes onde Yo vengo, e que nin ayan Alcaldes nin merino apartado, e pidieronme merced, que pues en el tiempo de los otros reyes e del mio asi usaron e les fue guardada esta merced fasta aqui adelante, e Yo por facer bien e merced al consejo de Burgos, e por muchos buenos servicios

As I have mentioned above, many cities in Old Castile probably did not have a native Mudejar population. In Burgos the first Muslim names appear in the records in the second half of the 12th century⁵⁰. There are no reasons to suppose that this judicial structure changed in the course of time. This implies that during the entire Middle Ages the administration of lawsuits of one of the larger *aljamas* of Castile was in the hands of the local Christian *alcaldes*, officials which were annually elected from among the members of the *consejo*. It seems clear that this judicial structure may explain the existence of law texts such as the *Leyes de Moros*. It confirms the early dating of the lost MS and its Castilian provenance. However, it does not follow that every lawsuit occurring between the Mudejars of Burgos was judged by Christian *alcaldes*. In the next chapter we will examine an (undated) Arabic document in which a certain *faqīh* Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Farash Ruy Díaz, servant of a mosque in Burgos, is mentioned. This document demonstrates that the *aljama* of Burgos had available scholars who were learned in Arabic. Since it is to be assumed that the *faqīh* fulfilled a role in the conclusion of marriages etc. the *Leyes de Moros* were very likely used in cases which could not be solved internally.

III.3.2. *The Llibre de la çuna e xara*

The second text, like the *Leyes de Moros* originally had no title, and for better or worse it is now called *Llibre de la çuna e xara*

que me ficieron, e me faran daqui adelante tengolo por bien, e mando que los pleytos que son e los que acaescieren entre los moros que moran en la villa de Burgos e en su Alfoz que los libren los alcaldes de la dicha cibdad ansi como lo usaron e libraron en tiempo de los Reyes onde Yo vengo e en el mio fasta aqui, e non otros ningunos alcaldes e que non ayan Alcaldes, nin merino apartad....” (Valladolid, Biblioteca de Santa Cruz, MS 20, f. 326r-237r). Description of the MS in Alonso-Cortés, *Catálogo de Manuscritos de la Biblioteca de Santa Cruz*, no. 20. See also Bonachia Hernando and Pardo Martínez, *Catálogo documental del Archivo Municipal de Burgos*, no. 175. (= Archivo Municipal de Burgos, no. 102; other transcripts of this document in Archivo Municipal Burgos, Libro de Privilegios, ff. CCXLI-CCXLI, dated 131 and B.R.A.H., Salazar 0-13, 70-71, dated 1305. May 1293 (no. 157): “Sancho IV concede al Consejo de Burgos que recauda para sí portazgo y martiniega; la aldea de villimar; y que los pleitos entre los moros de la ciudad los juzguen los alcaldes de ésta”; Cf. no. 159, 19 July 1295, Valladolid: “Fernando IV otorga al Consejo de Burgos facultad para el nombramiento de cuatro Alcaldes, anualmente, eligibles entre los vecinos de la ciudad, que libren los pleitos entre cristianos y entre moros y judíos, que fueren de su competencia; ordena así mismo que los Alcaldes entonces existentes no usen en adelante este oficio”. The document was discussed in López Mata, “Morería y Judería”, pp. 344-45.

⁵⁰ González Díez, *El Concejo Burgalés (884-1369)*, p. 347.

(book of the *sunna* and *xara*, the common designation of Islamic law in Spanish medieval documents). It was recently discovered in the private archive of the counts of Orgaz, and published by Barceló Torres⁵¹. It is written in Catalan in Latin script. Unlike the *Leyes de Moros*, it is abundantly clear that this text was meant to be read by Christians. It is written from the perspective of someone outside the Mudejar community. The rules are not archaic, but clearly refer to the judicial practice in medieval Aragon, mentioning for example the *Furs* of Valencia⁵². It is interesting to note that some attention is devoted to the *ʿibādāt* as well. Mention is made of the five *arkān* (chapter 289), the *adhān* (chapter 52), the Muslim feasts, including the *mawlid al-nabī* (chapter 47, *de les XII lunes*), and even with times of the *ṣalāt* (chapter 283).

The text is dated on f. 47r, where it reads 1308, but Barceló makes it clear that on the basis of internal evidence this date must be deemed incorrect: mention is made of laws which only came into being in the 14th century. The correct date is therefore probably 1408⁵³. The MS itself is of later date (probably 1460-1480). The 'Sitz im Leben' of this text is the Mudejar community of Valencia, probably the neighbourhood of Játiva⁵⁴.

The problem of the inheritance of a Mudejar who dies without offspring is dealt with as well; the custom that the Christian Lord should inherit in that case is described here as the *Costum d'Espanya*, showing that this rule was maintained everywhere in the Peninsula (e.g. chapter 133, *Perquè los senyós crestians prenen los béns, segons Costum d'Espanya*). The above-mentioned difference between the *Llibre* and the *Leyes de Moros* is reflected in the rules concerning insulting remarks about the Faith: "Qui dirà mal contra Crist e la benahuïrada verge Maria [mare] de Aquell, o.ls profets, o.ls sants de Déu, o contra Mafomat, deu ésser apedregat, segons çuna"⁵⁵. This rule includes transgressions with respect both to the Christian faith as well as Islam.

⁵¹ *Llibre de la çuna*.

⁵² See pp. 275, 297.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. XIV.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, chapter 316.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, chapter 22.

III.4. SPANISH MUDEJAR TEXTS IN MEANT TO BE READ BY CHRISTIANS

Although it is likely that in many respects Mudejars before 1456 took some part in Christian cultural life, traces of this participation are extremely rare. The only text which can be included in this section on Mudejar literary productions meant to be read by a Christian public is found in the well-known *Cancionero de Baena*, a courtly collection of poems, which originate between 1445 and 1453⁵⁶.

The *Cancionero* contains 583 poems written by 55 poets who were active during the reigns of Pedro I and Juan II. No. 522 is the “respuesta quinta que fiso e ordeno vn moro que desian Maestro Mahomat el Xartosse de Guardarfaxara e fisico que fue del Almirante don Diego Furtado de Mendoça, la qual rrespuesta es muy ssotil e bien letradamente fundada, non enbargante que non van guardados los consonantes, nin esso mesmo non va guardada el arte de trobar”⁵⁷. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1365?-1404) occupied several important offices, among which that of *almirante del mar* during the reigns of Juan I and Enrique III⁵⁸. The original question -also drawn up in the form of a poem-, was asked by Ferran Sanches de Talauera, “la qual pregunta fiso el generalmente a Pero Lopes de Ayala el Viejo e a otros muchos grandes sabios letrados d’este rreygno ...”. López de Ayala died in 1407. Unfortunately we have no further biographical information on Maestro Mahomat of Guadalajara, who must have been one of the “muchos grandes sabios letrados”⁵⁹ of Castile. The theme of the poem is the problem of free will and predestination, and Maestro Mahomat defends man’s free will in such general terms that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to identify it as being written by a Muslim author. Nevertheless, it is interesting to notice that the cultural climate in the late 14th and early 15th century still allowed a free exchange of thought between members of the different religious groups. It also shows that Mudejars wrote in Spanish on Muslim doctrine in the context of ‘Christian’ literature.

⁵⁶ See on the *Cancionero de Baena*, Flasche, *Geschichte der spanischen Literatur*, vol. I, pp. 270-86.

⁵⁷ *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*, vol. 3, pp. 1038-48.

⁵⁸ *DHE*, s.v.

⁵⁹ *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*, vol 3, p. 1018.

III.5. ROMANCE TEXTS FOR 'INTERNAL' USE

III.5.1. *Dated MSS*

There are two MSS dated before 1455. Both MSS are religious works. The first, Madrid, B.N. 5378 (Saa 29), is a *madjmu'a* of religious texts in Arabic and Aljamiado. The original binding was completely destroyed, and apparently no effort was made to preserve or restore the original state when the MS was restored. It is certain, however, that the colophon in this MS is original, even though heavily damaged: although the one hundred figure is illegible, the watermarks seem to indicate a 15th-century origin of the MS. The date should therefore probably be read as [8]28 / 1424⁶⁰.

The second MS is Madrid B.N. 5319 (Saa 18), a copy in Aljamiado of a translation of the well-known *Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī. Although this MS is also badly damaged the order of the quires has remained intact. The colophon is also original in the sense that the paper on which it is written is an original part of the MS itself. The watermarks clearly indicate, however, that it is not a 15th, but a 16th-century MS⁶¹. Comparative linguistic investigation referred to above has already demonstrated that the language of this MS is of an earlier date than the other dated MSS under scrutiny, including MS J 1 of the *Breviario Sunni*⁶². This

⁶⁰ Watermark: *char à deux roues*. The specimen is similar to Briquet, *Filigranes*, no. 3,544 (1434; Var. sim.: 1452-1456, 1456-74, 1459-60, 1463-79, 1473) and to 2,543 (1421, var. sim.: 1424, 1428-1431, 1428-1456, 1432); and Valls i Subirà, *Paper and Watermarks in Catalonia*, no. 1,330 (1409); Valls i Subirà, *The History of Paper in Spain*, vol. 2, no. 37 (1416); Lichačew, *Bumaga i drevnejšija bumažnyja mel'nicy w Moskoskom gosudarstwě*, no. 290 (1428).

⁶¹ Watermarks: pilgrim with initials MTA and mermaid. Valls i Subirà, *The History of Paper in Spain*, vol. 2, p. 163, remarks that the first-mentioned watermark appeared in the first year of the 16th century. The examples in *Zonghi's watermarks*, nos. 1,703-1,727, are not earlier than 1549. The earliest examples of the mermaid date from the early 15th century (Valls i Subirà, *History*, nos. 242, 243). These watermarks have a more simple structure than the ones in this MS. The watermark belongs to the group numbered 13,876-13,879 in *Briquet* (dated between 1547 and 1563). It is also to be found in Bofarull y Sanz, *Heraldic Watermarks*, nos. 631-636 (1556-1562).

⁶² Karp, *A study*, pp. 27-31: this MS shows in all cases initial F, J 1 [= J 1,] f- 76,9%; h- 15.4% zero- 7.7%; p. 125: "The early manuscripts B.N. 5319 and J 1 display the most hesitation between b and p. The later MSS have very few, if any misspellings. Since we have no evidence from other sources of confusion of *p* and *b* in Castilian at this period, we can safely say that the examples in the manuscripts are not indicative of contemporary pronunciation, but are rather evidence of scribal orthographic uncertainty, which was slowly eradicated

means that the colophon of this MS indicating that it had been completed in 832/1429, was copied together with the MS itself.

Another Aljamiado fragment is contained in a dated Arabic document from Calatorao (Ar. Qal'at al-Turāb), a village in Aragon, dated 3 April 855 (=1451). It can be found in the Archivo de Protocolos Notariales de Zaragoza. Lines 9-12 have been written in Aljamiado. As far as I know, this is the earliest dated document in which Aljamiado is used⁶³. This document proves that the phenomenon of Aljamiado was known in Aragon before 1456⁶⁴. It was drawn up by the *khādim* (minister) and *imām* of the mosque and *amīn* of the *aljama* of the Calatorao, the *faqīh* Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Arqam. Al-Arqam is also known as a copyist of Arabic MSS. One of these MSS, Madrid B.N. 5015, copied in 841/1437, is a commentary on the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī by Ibn al-Fakhkhār al-Djūdḥāmī⁶⁵. On f. 4r of this MS an explanatory gloss in Aljamiado is to be found in the same hand as the MS itself. This gloss remained unnoticed by Guillén Robles and by Saavedra, when he listed glossed Arabic MSS (Saa 135).

III.5.2. Undated MSS

There are several undated texts which have to be ascribed to the late 14th and early 15th century. The first, an anti-Jewish Aljamiado polemic, is contained in Madrid B.N. 4944 (Saa 23, no. 1), Madrid, R.A.H. V 7 (Saa 100)⁶⁶, R.A.H. V 6 (Saa 99), J 8, f. 397v-419r⁶⁷, and J 9. Asín Palacios⁶⁸ published some fragments

as *Aljamiado* literature established itself, and scribes became more adept at recognising and representing the difference between the unvoiced plosive p and more familiar voiced plosive or fricative". As both MSS are 16th century copies of 15th-century works, this conclusion cannot be correct. It is therefore more likely that Morisco scribes respected the linguistic features of the text they were copying, cf. *ibidem*, p. 50.

⁶³ Labarta, "La aljama de los musulmanes de Calatorao nombra procurador (documento árabe de 1451)", *passim*. A bibliography of the published Aragonese documents in Arabic is found in Viguera, "Documentos Mudéjares Aragoneses".

⁶⁴ This invalidates Epalza's hypothesis that Aljamiado texts came into being after Yça Gidelli and that Aljamiado was an unknown phenomenon in Aragon before 1502, see "A modo de introducción", p. 19.

⁶⁵ G.R. 36; Van Koningsveld, "Supplementary notes", appendix, no. 1; *idem*, "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts", appendix, no. 3.

⁶⁶ V 7 is a fragment only. On f. 1v the end of this polemic is found.

⁶⁷ Published in Fernández y Fernández, *Libro de los Castigos* (MS. *aljamiado* n° 8 de la Junta), vol. I, pp. 376-92.

⁶⁸ Asín Palacios, "Un tratado morisco contra los judíos", p. 360.

of the Aljamiado text, from which it appears that its direct source is an Arabic work, entitled *Ta'yīd al-milla*, an anonymous text which can be found in two MSS: Madrid, R.A.H. 31⁶⁹ and Vienna, ÖNB AF 58⁷⁰. According to Cardaillac the Aljamiado polemic is a faithful translation of the Arabic text⁷¹, but I do not believe this to be true. As we saw before, the Arabic polemic is anonymous. In Madrid, R.A.H. 31, this is said to have been completed in Huesca (Aragon) on 5 Rabī I 762/ 13 January 1361⁷². According to Asín this MS is an autograph⁷³. The Vienna MS was copied by a certain Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Raghīlī (i.e. from Regla), *imām* of the *aljama* of Petrola (Valencia) in 808/1405⁷⁴. But while the Arabic texts are anonymous, some of the Aljamiado versions state that the author was a *faqīh* called 'Alī al-Gharīb (also written as al-Gharibu or al-'Aribu)⁷⁵. This is not the place to compare the different Aljamiado versions of this polemic, which may differ considerably. Our concern here is confined to the text as it is included in J 8, an Aljamiado work, which is clearly not a faithful translation of the *Ta'yīd al-milla*, but rather a summary. This is evident from the fact that several passages are indeed translated⁷⁶, while others are omitted or summarized, although at the same time the general line of argument is respected. The following statement in this summary indicates that it should be dated to the 14th century as well. In the middle of a theological discussion the text continues: "Because, I, the compiler of this book, say that the Law of the descendants of Ismā'īl, which

⁶⁹ See Teres Sádaba, "Los Manuscritos árabes de la Real Academia de la Historia", pp. 22-3.

⁷⁰ This is a MS of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Cf. Flügel, *Die Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlich-königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, vol. 3, pp. 108-110. On this text see Kassir, *A Study of a Fourteenth-century Polemical Treatise Adversus Judaeos*. Kassir does not identify the author of the *Ta'yīd al-milla*.

⁷¹ Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, p. 158.

⁷² Asín Palacios, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

⁷³ Asín Palacios, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

⁷⁴ The same person copied *Kitāb al-mudjādala ma'a 'l-Yahūd wa 'l-Naṣārā* (Vienna, ÖNB AF 58, f. 31r-62v. This is not the source of the polemic.

⁷⁵ The name of the author is mentioned in V 6 f. 36r, V 7 f. 1v, and J 8 f. 397v. J 8 reads "... este libro fizo un alfaqi sabidor del alqur'ān de los muçlimes i en la tawra i'en los evangelios de judios i cristianos, el cual alfaqi se llamaba 'Alī al-'Aribu"; Cf. Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, p. 158. Madrid, R.A.H. V 7 has been published in: D. Cardaillac, *La polémique anti-chrétienne du manuscrit aljamiado n. 4944 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid*, vol. 2, pp. 268-286.

⁷⁶ Compare Vienna ÖNB AF 58, f. 10r-10v and J 8, f. 414r-415v.

is the Qur'ān, exceeds at this moment the age of seven hundred years"⁷⁷. This implies that these words were written in the 14th century. It could be argued that the word 'ordenador' is a Spanish translation of the Arabic word *mu'allif*, author, and that the expression 'este libro' refers to the original work. But since the author of the work is consistently referred to in the *third* person, it is also possible that these words, in which the *first* person singular is used, refer to the Mudejar who made the Spanish summary.

There is also a second argument for dating the Aljamiado version in the 14th century. The paper of one of the other MSS referred to above, Madrid, R.A.H. V 7, might very well date from the 14th century. It shows vague, wide chainlines. No watermarks were found in this fragment. Linguistic investigation tends to confirm the codicological arguments for an early dating⁷⁸ and the ductus points to an early dating as well.

MS V 7 is at the same time the oldest text witness of the Aljamiado adaptation of yet another polemical text in Arabic. This work is entitled "The Key of Religion or the Disputation between Christians and Muslims from the sayings of the Prophets, Messengers and rightly guided Scholars who have read the Gospels" (*Kitāb miftāḥ al-dīn wa-'l-mudjādala bayna 'l-naṣārā wa-'l-muslimīn min qawl al-anbiyā' wa-'l-mursalīn wa-'l-ʿulamā' al-rāshidīn alladhīn qara'ū 'l-anādīl*), found on pp. 55-90 of MS 1557 of the National Library in Algiers⁷⁹. This MS was copied in Christian Spain in 886/1481⁸⁰. The author of this autobiographical work is the Tunisian *faqīh* Muḥammad al-Qaysī, who, being a Muslim captive of war in Christian Spain, completed it shortly after 709/1309, the year in which the Castilian and Aragonese armies besieged Almería. The attack on Granada of 1309 occupies a central place in this work, which can be seen as a very interesting theological interpretation of several events taking place in Christian Spain and France

⁷⁷ "Pues digo yo, ordenador d-este libro, que la ley, que los hichos de Ismaʿīl tienen, qu-es del-alcoran, ya pasa hoy de setecientos años...." (J 8, f. 399v). This statement is not part of the Vienna manuscript.

⁷⁸ Cardaillac, "Algunos problemas lingüísticos evocados a partir de los MSS aljamiados 4944 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid y V 7 de la Real Academia de la Historia", pp. 413-424.

⁷⁹ See Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, "The polemical works of Muḥammad al-Qaysī (fl. 1309) and their circulation in Arabic and Aljamiado among the Mudejars in the fourteenth century".

⁸⁰ Van Koningsveld, Wiegers, *op. cit.*, p. 1; Description of the MS in Fagnan, *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques. Départements*, vol. 18, p. 430.

in that period such as the expulsion of the Jews, the dissolution and persecution of the Templars between 1307 and 1312 and the aforementioned attack on Granada. It seems likely that al-Qaysī wrote his work in Catalonia, probably Lérida. Shortly afterwards an adaptation in Romance was made, a complete, although garbled version of which is found in MS 4944 of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, ff. 36v-82v. Moreover, fragments of this adaptation survive in R.A.H. V 7, as said before, and in several other Aljamiado MSS. The Romance adaptation of *Kitāb Miftāḥ al-dīn* furnishes information on the author (for example that he was a *faqīh* from the Zaytouna mosque in Tunis) as well as on the place where he was held captive (Lérida) which is absent from the Algiers manuscript. Therefore, the adaptation must have been made during the first half of the 14th century, when such information was still available.

Another example of an early text may be a bilingual *khutba* in Spanish (Madrid R.A.H. V 12). This is a Spanish text, i.e. in Arabic with interlinear Spanish in Latin characters. The paper of this MS, of which only a fragment has survived, also shows wide, vague chainlines, but no watermarks.

A MS found in Ocaña is dated by the editors, Albarracín Navarro and Martínez Ruiz, between the mid-14th and mid-15th century⁸¹. The writing material is only described as *algodón grueso*⁸². The MS concerned is an Arabic MS, with two folios in Aljamiado⁸³.

Lastly, something must be said about the date of the allegedly most ancient Aljamiado work, the *Poema de Yūsuf*, and the date of the oldest MS which includes it, Madrid R.A.H. T 12 (Saa 86). The date of this MS is difficult to ascertain, as many of its watermarks do not appear in the standard reference works. The MS is a convolute. On the basis of the watermarks I suppose that the gatherings which contain the *Poema de Yūsuf* (f. 1-9r) can be dated in the middle of the 15th century⁸⁴.

⁸¹ Albarracín Navarro and Martínez Ruiz, *Medicina, farmacopea y magia en el Misceláneo de Salomón*, pp. 10-11.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 10.

⁸³ f. 70r-71v. These folios were dealt with by Martínez Ruiz, "Version morisca de la 'Súplica inicial' del 'Libro de Buen Amor' en un manuscrito inédito de Ocaña".

⁸⁴ Wagon watermark. Only one watermark shown by Briquet has a double 'band' 'n the crown on top of the wagon: no. 3,547 (1467). Cf. Valls i Subirà, *The History of Paper in Spain*, vol. 2, no. 45 (1475), cf. *ibidem*, p. 119: "given the detail of the crown, it [sc. the watermark] probably came from the Italian mill in Coni". The rather uncertain similarity with

Conclusion

Texts written by Mudejars before 1456 can be divided into three categories. The first category concerns works written by those Mudejars who were involved in the transmission of learning and contributed to the coming into being of the corpus of scholarly works which found its way into Europe. There are some indications that Mudejars played a role in the process of diffusion of Arabic learning in the West: certainly as copyists, but perhaps also as scholars. One of them, al-Riqūṭī, probably taught in a 'secular' milieu, under the aegis of Alfonso el Sabio, rather than in a Dominican *studium*. In view of what is known of the working methods of the Alfonsine schools of translation it seems certain that Romance was the main vehicle in Al-Riqūṭī's teaching.

The second category consists of Spanish legal codes which, although undoubtedly originating in the Mudejar communities, were probably used by Christians to administer law in lawsuits involving Muslims. We have shown that such texts existed both in Castile and Aragon. In addition to this, the early 15th-century poem by Mahomat al-Xartosse from Guadalajara in the *Cancionero de Baena* shows that some Mudejars partook in Christian cultural life.

The last category of works, meant for 'internal use', shows that, already before 1455, some Mudejars of Aragon and Castile made use of their Hispanic dialects to draw up documents, and also to copy out translations of works on *fiqh* such as the *Risāla*, devotional treatises, and polemical works. It can be seen that the earliest texts seem to date from the early 14th century. When Mudejars wrote in Romance they used both the Arabic and the Latin script. The evidence presented above is not exhaustive. For practical reasons it was impossible to study all MSS of the Real Academia which Saavedra dated to this early period. The number of Islamic Spanish manuscripts dating from before 1455 is in any case small when compared to the numerous manuscripts which have survived from later dates. Although the evidence does not allow us to say that Spanish was in use as a firmly established literary language, there can be no doubt that the Mudejars used the vernacular as a literary medium well before 1455. As early as 832/1429 a Spanish translation of the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī was copied

these watermarks does not allow a reliable dating.

out. We have seen that the evidence of the colophon of the MS in question was confirmed by Karp's linguistic investigation.

CHAPTER FOUR

YÇA OF SEGOVIA: LIFE AND WORKS

IV.I. INTRODUCTION TO THE SOURCES ON YÇA'S LIFE AND WORKS

Perhaps it is a strange whim of fate that one of our best sources of information on Yça's life is the Christian theologian Juan Alfonso de Segovia, born in Segovia ca. 1393. Juan de Segovia studied in the University of Salamanca from 1407 onwards¹ and occupied several chairs in the faculty of theology of the same university between 1418 and 1433. Meanwhile he was often abroad, charged with various assignments. In 1427 he met the Patriarch of Constantinople in Rome, who asked Juan de Segovia to devote himself to the solution of what the Church perceived as the 'problem' of Islam². This is the earliest evidence of Juan de Segovia's concern with this subject.

In 1430, he tried to arrange a religious disputation with some Granadan Muslims who were present at the court of the Castilian king Juan II in Cordoba in the company of an exiled Granadan prince, Yūsuf b. al-Mawl. This attempt was unsuccessful. One year later -the court being in Medina del Campo- he succeeded to arrange several disputations with a Granadan ambassador to the Castilian court about the doctrines of the trinity and incarnation³. He had several meetings with this ambassador, during which a Castilian *faqīh* staying at court was also present⁴. According to Juan de Segovia these disputations demonstrated that Muslims were largely ignorant of Christian dogma. This discovery was of crucial importance to him, for it led him to the theory that the conversion of the Muslims had to be achieved in a peaceful way, i.e. '*per viam pacis et doctrinae*', rejecting a crusade except in case of defence⁵. From that time onwards he set out to put his ideas into practice.

¹ Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Juan de Segovia*, p. 37.

² *Ibidem*, p. 42.

³ Cabanelas Rodríguez, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-7; Hernández Montes, *Biblioteca*, p. 89, no. 24.

⁴ Cabanelas Rodríguez, *op. cit.*, p. 106 note 1.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 108.

Expecting that they would not prove to be very popular, particularly after the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, Juan de Segovia acted very diligently. He spent the years immediately following the disputation of Medina del Campo at the Council of Basel, which began on 25 July 1431 and in which he played an important role. This was the Council during which a schism occurred. Juan de Segovia sided with the anti-pope Felix V. After the resolution of the schism Juan fell into disgrace: other schismatic cardinals were confirmed in their dignities by the new pope, but he had to retire into relative obscurity as bishop of St. Jean de Maurienne in Savoy and subsequently became archbishop of Caesarea. In his retreat in the priory of Aiton in Savoy he set himself three goals: to collect a rich library, to write the history of the Council of Basel, and to solve the problem of Islam⁶. When a canon and familiaris of cardinal Cervantes (1382-1453) informed him in Savoy of the conquest of Constantinople, he set to work on the third task by beginning to write *De gladio sancti Spiritus in corda mittendo sarracenorum*, a work dealing with the method which was to be followed in order to achieve that goal⁷.

This work took the form of a letter to Cervantes (who, like Juan de Segovia, had devoted himself to the study of Islam). Juan was probably still working on it at his death in 1458⁸. Already in the thirties he had tried to find Arabic books, in particular copies of the Qur'ān. He had also tried to find Qur'ān translations, but had never succeeded in laying hands on any translation other than the well-known Cluniac version of Robert of Ketton⁹. Soon however he discovered that because of its many shortcomings the Cluniac text could not serve as the basis for his work and for that reason he began to look for someone able to make a new, reliable translation. He himself knew enough Arabic to be able to assess that the Cluniac translation was very deficient, but never mastered the language well enough to undertake the new version. When he failed to find a Christian translator, he probably approached the Castilian king, Juan II, for we hear of a royal order to a Castilian *faqīh* who was not willing or not able to go to Savoy. Then Yça Gidelli

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 72.

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 93-9.

⁸ Cabanelas Rodríguez, *op. cit.*, p. 93; On Cervantes: *DHCEE*, s.v.

⁹ He had a Qur'ān text copied in Germany, see Cabanelas Rodríguez, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

arrived. The passage of the Latin introduction to the translation of the Qur'ān which describes his arrival can be translated as follows:

When subsequently a royal order had been given to one of the senior *fuqahā'* ("uni ex alfaquinis maioribus") of the Kingdom of Castile this man answered that he could not come, because he was not competent, and because it would not yet be possible [for him to collaborate]. Then it pleased God to fulfil my wish, a wish which complied with the glory of His name. My family and friends guaranteed the inviolability of his [Yça's] person and the salary that he had asked for his efforts. Then, on the 5th of December 1455, he arrived at the place where I live, in the priory of Aiton, in the diocese of St. Jean de Maurienne, a man who was of great renown among the Saracens of Castile, Yca Gidelli, *faqth* of Segovia, accompanied by someone belonging to his sect¹⁰.

This passage is interesting since it demonstrates that according to Juan de Segovia Yça Gidelli already enjoyed "great renown" among the Mudejars *before* he had translated the Qur'ān. Unfortunately Juan de Segovia does not tell us why he was famous. According to Juan de Segovia Yça translated the Qur'ān into Spanish in the next four months, i.e. between December 1455 and March 1456, working at least 12 hours a day. After the translation had been completed he left for Spain, taking with him a copy of the text. Between 1454 and 1458 Juan de Segovia corresponded with Jean Germain, Nicolas of Cusa and Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later to be Pope Pius II, in search for support for his views. As an example of his approach, he sent Enea Silvio Piccolomini a MS containing a large part of his work in 1458. Cabanelas assumes that the MS in question is to be identified as Vat. Lat. 2923, arguing that this is likely because Silvio's library was acquired by the Vatican in 1705. The autograph (?) MS includes the Latin prologue to the Qur'ān and the Latin translation of a letter sent by Yça Gidelli to Juan de Segovia on 24 April 1454 (see appendix 1).

¹⁰ Vat. Lat. 2923, f. 190r (cf. Cabanelas Rodríguez, *op.cit.*, p. 289): "... et cum regio abinde facto mandato uni ex alfaquinis maioribus regni Castelle, ille transferre se non posse, et quia nesciret et quia adhuc nec possibile fore[t], respondisset, placuit divine pietati ut desiderium meum, ad gloriam ordinatum nominis eius, adimpleretur; et a parentibus amicisque meis securitate reddita de indempnitate persone salarioque votive pro suis obtinendo laboribus, die quinto decembris, anno LV [1455] locum hunc mei incolatus prioratus Eythonis, dyocesis Maurianensis, applicuit fame qui celebrioris inter Sarracenos regni Castelle, Yça Gidelli, Alfaquinius Segobiensis, secte sue habens comitem". This last part should be interpreted as *famae* (from *fama*, not *fames* (hunger), as Cabanelas, *op.cit.*, p. 145, translates), *qui* [sc. *erat*] *celebrioris* (genitivus qualitatis) *inter Sarracenos regni Castellae*

Several other letters sent by Juan de Segovia to his acquaintances also contain valuable biographical information on Yça Gidelli.

Another important source on Yça Gidelli's works is the *Donatio inter vivos*, preserved in MS 211 of the Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, a MS recently re-edited and studied by Hernández Montes. This is an inventory, drawn up by Juan de Segovia in Aiton on 9 October 1457 before offering his books to the library of the University of Salamanca and several other institutions¹¹.

The works devoted to Islam written by Juan de Segovia himself can be divided into those written before and those written after the meeting with Yça Gidelli, the only exception to this being the treatise *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo saracenorum*¹², begun in 1453 but on which he continued working after 1455. For this reason we can leave aside the works referred to in the studies of Cabanelas Rodríguez and Hernández Montes as written before 1454, and focus on the works and letters to be connected with Yça. These are collected in the *Donatio* under the heading *Libri pertinentes ad confutationem secte Mahumeti*. The first, no. 97, is described as follows:

And because it is for a refutation such as this, most urgent and necessary to get to know the beliefs of this sect, [we find here] the Qur'an, which the Saracens consider to be the Divine Law, and in order not to conceal anything which it contains, it was interpreted anew by Juan with great effort and at great cost; this Qur'an [codex] is written in three languages: Arabic (naturally), Spanish, and Latin, in a large heavy volume, and at the beginning the Preface by Juan [is found], which deals with the history of the translation, at the end also a *Summarium psalmorum omnium* written in the Spanish language by that Spanish interpreter, whose aim, as appears from close examination, was to praise his religion excessively. The last line of the first folio reads as follows: *et illis qui cedunt cum eo quod misi tibi*. The last line of the last column reads as follows: *Non genuit neque fuit genitus*¹³.

¹¹ Hernández Montes, *Biblioteca de Juan de Segovia*, p. 9. Nos. 24, 25, 26, 42, 63, 71, 77, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101 and 107 of this inventory deal with Islam. Among them we find refutations of Islam, for example a work written by Pedro Pascual, Qur'an manuscripts, and the Qur'an translation of Robert of Ketton.

¹² Hernández Montes, "Obras de Juan de Segovia", no. 53.

¹³ Et quia ad hujusmodi confutationem primum ac necessarium est ueraciter agnoscere quid secta ipsa contineat, Liber Alcurani, per sarracenos deputatus uelut sit diuina lex, ne latere quicquam ex ea possit, interpretatus nouissime ipsius Johannis labore magnisque impensis; triplici quoque lingua descriptus est ipse Alcuranus: arabicis uidelicet, yspanis et latinis litteris, in magno uolumine de marca majori; et in principio ejus Prefacio Johannis super ipsa translatione facta; in fine autem Summarium psalmorum omnium in yspano ydiomate factum a magistro interprete illius, cujus studium, ut intuenti apparet, fuit supra modum suam laudare

This is the MS of the trilingual translation of the Qur'ān. It is not to be found in the Salamanca University Library today and must be considered lost. What remains is the (Latin) prologue, preserved in Vat. Lat. 2923 (probably an autograph) and in Madrid, B.N. 9250 (a later copy). In the prologue, written in 1456, the MS is described as a volume of 33 gatherings of six folios. As appears from the *Donatio*, another work was bound with the MS when finished, a *summarium super quolibet psalmorum alchorani*. This work is also mentioned in the introduction to the translation of the Qur'ān, where Juan de Segovia tells us that Yça Gidelli gave him several writings upon his arrival in Aiton. The passage concerned can be translated as follows:

He [Yça] gave to me here in a completed form a summary of the explanation of all the psalms of the Qur'ān, which he had begun to compose for me in Spain. At the same time he gave me the *Thirteen Articles of the Muslim Faith*, with extensive arguments (*rationibus*), in accordance with their meaning (*intellectum*), to prove them¹⁴.

In a letter to Jean Germain, dated 18 December 1455¹⁵, Juan de Segovia tells us that he has already read the *summarium omnium azoararum* and the *Thirteen articles*, from which it appears that the summary must have been completed very shortly after Yça's arrival in Aiton, or perhaps even before that time. According to Juan de Segovia it was a work "whose aim, as appears from close examination, was to praise his religion excessively" ("cujus studium, ut intuenti apparet, fuit supra modum suam laudare legem"). We will return to the *Thirteen Articles* and the *summarium* later.

The other text mentioned in the *Donatio* which is to be connected with Yça is no. 99, described as follows:

Elucidation of the particular Truth of the Catholic Faith, viz. that Jesus, son of Mary is God's true son and truly God, in which [words] lie the overwhelming majority of the secrets of the truth of the law of Grace, the idleness of the law of the Scripture and the nullity of the Muhammedan sect.

legem. Prime membrane Alcurani ultima linea sic dicit: et illis qui cedunt cum eo quod misi tibi. Ultimo uero columpne prima linea <sic dicit>: Non genuit neque fuit genitus.

¹⁴ Vat. Lat. 2923, f. 191r.: "Summarium etiam intelligentie super quolibet psalmorum Alchurani, quod Yspanie pro me inchoaverat, hic completum communicavit. Similiter et articulos XIII fidei mahumetice, rationibus, iuxta intellectum ipsorum, ad illorum probationem exaratis habunde".

¹⁵ Vat. Lat. 2923, f. 184r-185r, Cabanelas Rodríguez, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-328, 326.

This work has not been completed. It is written in the Spanish colloquial. The last line of the first folio reads as follows...¹⁶.

This Romance work was written in reply to a letter, probably in Romance, sent by Yça to Juan de Segovia after he had returned to Segovia¹⁷. We know of the existence of that letter because of the following item in the *Donatio* (no. 100):

Reply to the letter by the *faqih* of Segovia, translator of the Qur'ān, who [in it] intends to speak lofty words about the identity of God and the ultimate goal [of being, of the world]; also on parchment and written in the vernacular¹⁸.

Both works remained unfinished, as appears from a passage of a letter by Juan de Segovia to an unknown friend, in which he describes the contents of this letter, which, according to him, contained 12 "points of doubt" concerning the Christian doctrine of faith¹⁹:

Upon my explicit request, he set forth, at the time he was in Spain, twelve points of doubt and sent them to me. These are [dogmas], as he said, denied by all Saracens, and he demanded a satisfactory reply. Following the doctrine of the Gospel [i.e. Luke 6:30] that one should seek to satisfy any believer who asks for something, by interrupting another unfinished work, which I at the time intended to send to Spain, I put my hand to the plough, but as a result of intervening difficulties, particularly a disease which nineteen months ago began to affect my bones, and since half a year my liver also, the powers of my body and soul have weakened, so that I am not able to work as I would wish because of the feebleness of my hands²⁰.

¹⁶ Elucidatorium precipue ueritatis catholice fidei: Jesum, Marie filium, esse uerum Dei filium Deumque uerum; in quo permagna plurima secreta de ueritate legis gratie cessacioneque legis scripture et nullitate mahumetice secte. Nondum scriptura ejus finem accepit; in pergaminis uulgarique edita yspano. Sed membrane prime ultima linea sic dicit <....>.

¹⁷ See on this work and the following letter: Hernández Montes, "Obras de Juan de Segovia", pp. 319-21 (no. 66).

¹⁸ Responsio ad litteram alaphaquenti Segobiensis, interpretis Alcurani, putantis se loqui excelsa de unitate Dei et ultimi finis; eciam in pergamenis et uulgari.

¹⁹ Cabanelas Rodríguez, *op. cit.*, p. 341; Vat. Lat. 2923, f. 196v-198r.

²⁰ Rogatu pleniori meo, dum in Yspania fuit, XII dubia exposuit michique transmisit, retrahentia, ut inquit, sarracenos omnes a confessione catholice fidei, requisita a me de illis satisfactione. Evangelicam igitur attendens doctrinam fidelem omni petenti tribuendum intermisso alio inchoato opere, dum in Yspaniam transmittere volui, ad aratrum misi manum, sed intercedentibus multis, precipue autem infirmitate, que a mensibus XIX in tibiis primum, sed iam ab anno medio in epate sita, in dies totum debilitat corpus animique vires, ut cupio, intendere nequeo labori manibus languidatis.

In the introduction to the translation of the Qur'ān Juan de Segovia says that upon his arrival in Aiton Yça gave him two more treatises: a work on the life and genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad and a work dealing with the conversion of Islamic and Christian dates²¹. It is impossible to say whether these works were originally written by Yça Gidelli or whether they were merely copies of already existing works. Again, bearing in mind that Juan de Segovia did not master Arabic very well, we must assume, that they were written in Spanish. These works are not to be found in the *Donatio*.

From the above it therefore appears that Yça wrote or copied for Juan de Segovia the following works: the *Thirteen Articles of the Faith*, the work described as “a summary of the explanation of all psalms” or “a summary of all psalms”, the Spanish translation of the Qur'ān, a work on the genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad and a work on the conversion of the Muslim and Christian calendars.

Moreover, Yça wrote two letters, only one of which is still extant and will be discussed below: a letter to Juan de Segovia dated 24 April 1454, in which Yça Gidelli discusses the feasibility of a Qur'ān translation (preserved in Vat. Lat. 2923, ff. 178v-180v, see appendix 2), and a letter to Juan de Segovia, dated between 1456 and 1457, containing 12 points of doubt about the Christian Faith. This letter is no longer extant.

These are fortunately not the only sources we have at our disposal. Among the most important sources is the *Breviario Sunni*, which Yça wrote in 1462. We will also see that the well-known Christian theologian Juan López de Salamanca wrote a polemical treatise against a religious work by Yça, which may have led the latter to reply in writing. A MS of López's treatise was found in the library of the Duke of Plasencia in 1468. Although it is no longer extant today, we can draw some important conclusions from the traces left by this work in other sources. Finally, there is an anonymous Aljamiado work, *Tratado y Declaración y Guía para seguir y mantener el addīn del alislām* (Madrid, B.N. MS 5252), which may well be connected with Yça. Since the authorship of this text cannot be proven beyond any doubt, however, it will be discussed in the following chapter which deals with Yça's influence

²¹ Vat. Lat. 2923, f. 191r.

on Islamic Spanish literature. In the previous chapters I have argued that Yça Gidelli was not the first Muslim in Christian Spain to write in Romance on religious matters. This suggests that his influence on Islamic Spanish literature might be explained otherwise. In this chapter I will argue that Yça Gidelli's religious convictions, in particular his apocalyptic expectations, made him the most influential author among the Muslims in Christian Spain. I wish to begin my discussion of Yça Gidelli's life and work with the 'Sitz im Leben' of his life and work: Mudejar Islam in Castile in general and the Mudejar *aljama* of Segovia in particular. Yça's works will then be examined, and finally the biographical evidence will be discussed. I have chosen to discuss the biographical evidence at the end because it is very scanty and, moreover, not readily 'available': it has to be assembled from all sorts of sources which have received very little attention so far.

IV.2. THE MUDEJAR COMMUNITY OF SEGOVIA AND MUDEJAR ISLAM IN 15TH-CENTURY CASTILE

IV.2.1. *Place of the aljama and buildings*

On the basis of archive documents dealing with architectural evidence Ruiz Hernando gives a picture of Muslim presence in Segovia in the Middle Ages²². The earliest indications of the presence of Muslims in the city date from the early 14th century²³. Many Mudejars lived in the Almuzara²⁴, in the quarter later called *la morería vieja* (the old Moorish quarter)²⁵. In the 15th century Mudejars are mentioned more often in the documents. We hear, for example, of Hamete Bermejo, son of Mahomad Bermejo who, with Abrahan Graval, son of Don Azeyte, both of them carpenters, had

²² *Historia del Urbanismo*, see on the Mudejars: vol. 1, pp. 72-3; 95-6.

²³ Ruiz Hernando, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 72-3.

²⁴ Although the word Almuzara may have been derived from the Arabic word *muṣalla*, which in many Muslim cities in the Maghrib was a field, often outside the walls, where the *ṣalawāt al-ʿid* were held, and sometimes capital punishments were carried out (see Lévi-Provençal, *Islam d'Occident*, p. 59), there are no indications that Segovia was populated during the Muslim domination. Like many other cities in Old Castile, such as Valladolid and Avila, Segovia probably knew no 'native' Muslim population.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 35.

a *censo* on a garden with trees²⁶. With Doña Xansi, the wife of *maestre* Mahomad, *calderero*²⁷ and *maestre* Hoxmin, he took in *censo* a house near the gate of San Martín. They rented the upper part of the house to Maestre Yuzaf Talavera²⁸ and the lower part to Mahomad Montero²⁹. Some other names of Mudejars who lived in Segovia in the 15th century were Mahomad el Rojo, Mahomad, *mantequero*; Amate, *vainero*, Maestre Abrahan del Arroyo, Hamad del Baño, Hamad, *mantequero*, Abrahan Juarros, and Brayme de Guadarrama. According to Ruiz Hernando at the beginning of the century the Mudejars lived in the centre of the town close to the Jews, on the axis Almuzara-Plaza Mayor. Later in the century they slowly moved towards the Puerta de San Martín. Near that gate was also the mosque. From the fact that some Mudejars still lived inside the walls in 1474 it can be deduced that the repeated laws which urged the Muslims and Jews to live apart from the Christian population were not yet completely implemented³⁰.

There can be no doubt that at about the same time many Mudejars had indeed settled in the new *morería* outside the walls, in the quarter of San Millán, where many continued to live as Moriscos until the expulsion³¹. This appears from a document dated 1480³². The (Christian) inhabitants of the quarter of San Martín, inside the walls, complained that the Mudejars kept using their '*almagi*' (Ar.: *al-masdjid*?) in that quarter, thereby causing inconveniences to the neighbours because the mosque was built close to some of their houses³³. The inhabitants of San Martín demanded that the mosque

²⁶ Archivo Capitular, Libro Viejo de censos f. 205, apud Ruiz Hernando, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 111, n. 60.

²⁷ See on him below. With the *faqh* Omar he travelled to Granada in 1480 in order to collect his daughters and other Mudejar families who had emigrated some years before.

²⁸ See on him: AGS RGS August 1477, f. 426, where he is mentioned as one of the repartidores.

²⁹ 17 September 1474. Archivo Histórico Provincial, Libro IV de Hipotecas f. 304, apud Ruiz Hernando, *Historia*, vol. 1, p. 111, n. 61.

³⁰ See: Fernández y González, *Estado social y político*, p. 400 no 1. repeated during the Cortes of 1476 in Madrid and 1480 in Toledo.

³¹ An interesting example of a Morisco family is the De la Hoz family, who lived in the 15th century in the famous Casa de los Picos. Ruiz Hernando cites a document from 1569, in which Joan de la Hoz, Morisco, and a certain Rodrigo Xeder [sic!], his heir, are mentioned (*Historia*, vol. 1, pp. 108-9, note 49). This family possessed many houses in San Millán.

³² AGS, RGS November 1480 f. 123, published in Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, doc. no. 5.

³³ "Como esta tan junto con sus casas e barrios en lo qual, sy asy oviese de pasar, diz que ellos rescibirian grand agravio e dapno".

should be closed or demolished, a request which was granted. It is not clear why the Mudejars kept using the old mosque.

The Muslim cemetery was outside the walls³⁴. As elsewhere, the Mudejars of Segovia had their own slaughterhouse³⁵. In certain Castilian cities we sometimes know the place where the religious officials, such as the *alcalde* and 'the' *faqīh* of the *aljama*, lived³⁶, but this is not the case in Segovia and this might be an indication that Segovia's *faqīh* was not particularly rich.

What sort of educational institutions the Mudejars of Segovia possessed is unknown. We know that a *madrassa* existed for an unknown period in the city of Zaragoza. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about this institution, except that it existed in the middle of the 15th century. This is testified by the colophon of an Arabic MS (probably a collection of *fatwās*, Ar.: *kitāb al-masā'il*, which is lost today) found in the Aragonese village of Almonacid and copied by 'the student' (*al-tilmīdh*) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm 'Abd Allāh Shabatūn al-Tīrūlī (from Teruel) in June 851/1447 in the *madrassa* of the Moorish quarter in the city of Zaragoza ("rabaḍ al-muslimīn bi madīnat Saraquṣṭa")³⁷. It is impossible to say whether this was the only centre of higher Islamic learning in Christian Spain. Although the MS seems to have disappeared Codera tells us that among the MSS from Almonacid was "a small work containing questions and answers given by Farash, son of Lupo, *mufīt* of the Friday Mosque of Granada, a copy made in the *madrassa* ... of Zaragoza, in the year 861 [sic]". On the basis of Codera's information the *mufīt* in question can be identified as Farash b. Qāsim b. Aḥmad b. Lubb al-Tha'labī al-Andalusī, born in 701/1301)³⁸. The *fatwās* which Abū 'Abd Allāh

³⁴ Ruiz Hernando, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 96.

³⁵ Marqués de Lozoya, *Historia*, cites a privilege to the Monasterio de San Antonio el Real, in which Enrique IV grants the monastery certain rights with respect to the Christian, Jewish and Muslim slaughterhouses.

³⁶ For example Rucquoi, *Valladolid en la Edad Media*, vol. 2, p. 503, points out that the *alcalde* and *faqīh* of Valladolid, Brayme Aragones, possessed at least four houses in 1474. The man dealt in lead.

³⁷ Reproduced in Ribera, *Disertaciones y Opúsculos*, vol. 1, p. 351.

³⁸ Codera, "Almacén de un librero morisco", p. 275, "una obrita de Preguntas y respuestas dadas por Farach hijo de Lupo, *mufīt* de la aljama mayor de Granada; copia hecha en la *madrassa* ... de Zaragoza, año 861". There can be no doubt that this is indeed the same MS. Farash b. Qāsim b. Aḥmad b. Lubb al-Tha'labī al-Andalusī as *mufīt* was a member of the *shūrā* in Granada. From 28 *Radjab* 754 onwards he taught in the *madrassa* of Granada, the Madrasa al-Nasriyya, and also became a *khatīb*. Opinions differ about the date of his death. Both 782/1380 and 783/1381 are mentioned by Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādī*, p. 219 ff.

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm °Abd Allāh Shabatūn copied were therefore earlier ones of Granadan origin; there seems to be no connection with the *madrassa* itself.

The question arises of whether Segovia, the favourite dwelling-place of Enrique IV, also possessed a *madrassa*, and whether Yça's authority was perhaps connected with such a centre of Islamic learning. Two *almidrasim* are mentioned in the documents, one to be found in the Corral del Cayón, and the other in the Calle de Rehoyo. While the latter is explicitly qualified as the *almidras de los judíos*³⁹, the former is not, but it seems very unlikely that we are dealing with a Muslim *madrassa*, since this Corral del Cayón was found in the quarter assigned to the Jews in 1412⁴⁰.

IV.2.2. *Professions*

A valuable source for the professions exercised by Mudejars in Segovia is a document of 1510 published by Bataillon⁴¹. From this it appears that the majority were craftsmen⁴². The document also sheds light on the size, and the constitution of the Mudejar household, which contained the parents, their children, and other members of the family as well as the servants. Craftsmen housed their pupils.

Many Mudejars were involved in the building industry. A Mudejar architect from Segovia was involved in building the Cartuja del Paular in Toledo between 1433 and 1443. This 'Abd-arrahman' was assisted by Gabriel Gali, a carpenter from Segovia, as well as by Alonso de Estévan, a master mason of Toledo and a certain Juan García, another inhabitant of Segovia⁴³.

IV.2.3. *Demographic evidence*

In 1510 the Morisco population consisted of 251 persons, who lived in 56 houses⁴⁴. This means an average of 4.3 persons in each house. Of these houses 41 were found in the quarter of San Millán.

³⁹ Ruiz Hernando, *Historia del Urbanismo*, vol. 2, p. 183, doc. 19 and 20.

⁴⁰ Ruiz Hernando, *Historia del Urbanismo*, vol. 1, p. 97; private letter of J. Ruiz Hernando d.d. 24-10-'90.

⁴¹ "Les nouveaux chrétiens de Ségovie en 1510", *passim*.

⁴² Carpenters, masons, parchment makers, smiths, butchers, painters etc.

⁴³ Llaguno y Amirola, *Noticias de los arquitectos*, vol. 1, p. 77.

⁴⁴ Bataillon, "Les nouveaux Chrétiens de Ségovie en 1510", *passim*.

At that time part of the community apparently still lived among the Old Christians. It can be deduced from the total amount of the tributes that the Mudejar population must have been about the same size in 1495⁴⁵. Unfortunately there are no indications of the size of the Mudejar population before 1495, but from the following evidence it seems that it underwent some changes. In February 1480 the *faqīh* Omar (perhaps a brother of Yça, see below, Chapter IV.7.1.) and the above-mentioned coppersmith Mohammed received a safe-conduct from the Catholic monarchs to travel to Granada in order to collect some members of their families and other Mudejars of Segovia, who had left their home-town during certain *movimientos* with their wives, children, grandchildren, servants, and other persons, and afterwards wished to return to Segovia⁴⁶. It seems likely that the term *movimientos* is an allusion to the civil war which broke out after the dethronement of Enrique IV in 1465⁴⁷. We will see below (Chapter IV.2.5.2.) that problems with the *alcalde mayor* led to Mudejar emigration from Segovia as well.

IV.2.4. *The Mudejars of Segovia and the Christian population*

The efforts of Vicente Ferrer aimed at the conversion of the Jews and Muslims at the beginning of the 15th century may have had an effect on the Mudejars of Segovia. According to the testimony of Juan de Segovia at the beginning of the 15th century some 50 Conversos of Muslim descent lived there⁴⁸, an extraordinarily high percentage if the complete Mudejar population (ca. 200 persons?) is taken into account. Christian efforts to convert the Jews and Muslims remained in force. According to Garcí Ruiz the Segovian Mudejars (like the Jews) were compelled to attend Christian services on the square next to the Church of St. Michael every Wednesday⁴⁹.

⁴⁵ Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en la baja Edad Media*, p. 389.

⁴⁶ AGS RGS, February 1480, f. 56.

⁴⁷ This return to *dār al-ḥarb* was not an isolated phenomenon. In 1477 the Mudejars of the Ricote valley who had emigrated to Granada also received permission to return to Castile, see AGS RGS June 1477, f. 244.

⁴⁸ Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Juan de Segovia*, p. 39. According to Asenjo González, *Segovia*, p. 330, there were no Muslim converts in Segovia before 1500.

⁴⁹ Garcí Ruiz, *Anacephalensis gestorum civitatis segoviensis*, f. 6r (Segovia, Archivo Catedralicio B 319). This came to an end after 1500, see Asenjo, *Segovia*, p. 338 n. 240; Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, doc. 97 note (AGS RGS March 1500, f. 45).

On the other hand, the impression to be deduced from the architectural evidence discussed above, namely that the social distance between the Mudejars and the Christians was not very large, is confirmed by the following. From 1484 onwards there existed in Segovia the *cofradía de San Eloy* (the patron saint of the smiths) y *San Antón* (the patron saint of cattledrovers). As appears from the statutes (*ordenanzas*) this *cofradía* seems to have counted both Christian and Mudejar smiths (*ferradores*) and veterinary surgeons (*albéitares*) among its members⁵⁰. Assuming that Mudejars were indeed members of the *cofradía* (which is uncertain, since only the statutes survived), this implies that a certain degree of involvement was expected, such as attending each other's funerals:

Otrosy hordenamos et tenemos por byen que cuando algund cofrade de nosotros, o su muger falleciere, que todos seamos mollidos por el nuestro oficial e vayamos al tal enterramiento para le onrrar con nuestras candelas encendidas et qualquier cofrade que ende non venyere siendo llamado o sabidor que peche la pena que compliere al dicho cabildo et que pague al tal finado de caridad diez y seis marauedis e vna libra et sy pasare collacion que pague veynte et quatro marauedis et que acabado de tomar su caridad que todos con clerigo et santeristanes antes que dende partamos digamos todos oracion por el anima de tal finado o finada et qualquier cofrade que touiere negocio valedero o legitimo se abyde de despedir asi lo non fisiere pague la sobredicha pena.

According to Asenjo there never were any grave conflicts between the Christian and the Mudejar population. Like the Jews the Mudejars paid the municipal taxes (*pechos concejiles*) and, according to Asenjo, they contributed comparatively more than the Jews. Both minorities paid 4% of the total amount, although the Mudejar *aljama* was much smaller than the Jewish *aljama*⁵¹. Both minorities also contributed to the Hermandad⁵². In addition, the Mudejars paid the royal taxes, the *servicio*, the *medio servicio* and the *pechas*⁵³.

⁵⁰ Archivo Municipal Segovia E IX-T5 L1, published by Marqués de Lozoya, *Historia*, doc. A, pp. 119-127.

⁵¹ At this point Asenjo's references may have become muddled. Figure XV (p. 483) indicates that the Jews paid 15.6 % against the Mudejars 2.73 % of the municipal taxes.

⁵² See LM, s.v. [art. L. Vones].

⁵³ The *pechas* were a contribution to cover the expenses of the war against Granada, in which the Mudejars were not compelled to take part. According to Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-arb*, some Mudejars, however, fought at the side of the Christians (apud: Fernández y González, *Estado social y político*, pp. 4-5).

IV.2.5. *The organization of the aljama and the judicial situation*IV.2.5.1. *The faqīh*

Very little is known about the internal organization of the Castilian *aljamas*, mainly because of the scarcity of Castilian Mudejar documents. As a result the role of the *fuqahā'* in Mudejar Castile remains largely in the dark⁵⁴. Fortunately there are a few documents which shed light on this. One of them is an undated Arabic *fatwā* given by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Husain al-Anṣārī, servant of the al-Qibla mosque in Avila (*khādim djamīʿ al-qibla fī madīnat Abila*)⁵⁵. In it al-Anṣārī mentions a question which arose in Avila, where according to him three mosques existed, each one with its *faqīh*. According to al-Anṣārī there was a difference of opinion between them about whether it was permissible to perform the *ṣalāt* on a *sadjjāda* of skins of animals not slaughtered ritually (*djulūd al-mayta*), or dressed in clothes made of that material. Al-Anṣārī seeks approval for his opinion of Abū ʿl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿImrān, servant of the *aljama* (the document reads *djamāʿ al-muslimīn*, probably *djamāʿat al-muslimīn*) and *muʿallim* (schoolmaster) resident in Valladolid, and of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Farash Ruy Díaz, servant of the mosque of the community of Muslims of the city of Burgos⁵⁶. Al-Anṣārī's opinion is based on authoritative Malikite works on the *furūʿ*, such as the *Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī; Ibn al-Djallāb al-Baṣrī's *al-tafrīʿ fī ʿl-fiqh*, and a work called *al-talqīn fī ʿl-furūʿ*, probably by al-Māzarī (d. 536/1134)⁵⁷. The document indicates that a religious question which arose among Muslims in Christian Spain was not always solved by a voyage to Granada in order to consult a *muftī*, and although it is by no means certain that this *fatwā* concluded the affair at hand, the document shows that the Castilian Mudejars were not completely dependent on *muftīs* in *dār*

⁵⁴ The role of the *fuqahā'* in Aragon is examined in Macho y Ortega, *Mudéjares Aragoneses*, p. 197 and Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders*, p. 222. According to Burns 'faqīh' was the title of the person who occupied the office of local minister of the cult, *imām* or *khādim*, of primary schoolmaster (*muʿallim*), of prayer leader (*imām*), or preacher (*khātib*).

⁵⁵ A summary of this document was published by Fernández y González, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-4. The original is no longer extant.

⁵⁶ Again the reading is uncertain: *djamīʿ muslimī madīnat B.rgh.sh.*

⁵⁷ GAL S 1, p. 663.

*al-islām*⁵⁸. It seems clear that the document is not an ordinary *fatwā*, for al-Anṣārī was not *asked* to give his opinion, but rather an attempt to settle a difference of opinion by trying to win a majority. Were the *fuqahā* of Avila unable to settle the affair themselves, and was one of them consequently seeking support for his opinion from *fuqahā* of other cities?

What concerns us here is that it clearly appears that the word *faqīh* in Christian Spain indicates a profession rather than a student of *fiqh*⁵⁹. *Faqīh* appears to be the designation of someone who carries out varying religious tasks in the service of the *aljama*. The document seems to indicate that a *faqīh* was probably in some way connected with a mosque; it speaks of three mosques, each one with 'its' *faqīh*. It seems certain that a *faqīh* was always to a certain degree learned in Arabic, as is shown by this document and by those published by Hoenerbach and Viguera⁶⁰. In the Christian documents the word *faqīh* also indicates a profession. The word *alfaqui* is mentioned after the name of an individual in the same way as 'carpenter' or 'bricklayer': e.g. in one of the documents mention is made of Mohammed *carpintero* and Omar *alfaqui*. One of the *fuqahā* mentioned above was also a *mu'allim*, perhaps the equivalent of master in a Qur'ān school (*kuttāb*). The fact that someone exercised the 'profession' of *faqīh* did not exclude the

⁵⁸ Mudejars sometimes travelled to Granada in order to consult a *mufti*. Madrid, B.N. 4950 (G.R. 103) f. 232r ff., contains 20 small *fatwās* given by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Anṣārī, known as al-Haffār (*mufti* in Granada, d. 811/1408-9, see Bābā, *Nayl*, p. 281) in *Radjab* 794/ June 1392. The persons who submitted the questions to the *mufti* were *qādī* Abū 'l-Hasan 'Alī from Daroca and Abū 'l-Hadīdjādī Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Mālik, *imām* of the mosque in the *morería* of Borja. Three Mudejars from Daroca, Borja, Qalat Ayyūb (Calatayud) went to Granada to submit them. The *mufti* wrote the questions as well as the answers down, and from this MS a copy was made by one of these Mudejars, Muhammad b. Muhammad Kalavera. The present MS, which is a *madjmu'a*, includes a copy of that copy, made by Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Lubb al-Murābiṭī, from the village Terreria. He copied it ca. 799/1397). Questions 1-4 deal with Qur'ānic expressions, 5-8 with Tradition, the rest with juridical problems of diverse nature. Some of the cases are interesting for the fact that they shed light on problems which arose from the contacts with Jews and Christians, such as the problem whether meat slaughtered by Christians and Jews might be eaten by Muslims (no. 11). From the contents of these *fatwās* it appears that the level of juridical expertise among the Mudejars of Aragon was not particularly high. Madrid B.N. 4950 also contains a *fatwā* on the *hidjra* by Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sinhādī, known as Ibn Miqlāsh, a *faqīh* from Oran (ff. 226r-231v). See on this *fatwā*: Bouzineb, "*Respuestas*", *passim*).

⁵⁹ See El², s.v. *fakīh* [art. D.B. Macdonald], s.v. *fikh* [art. J. Schacht]

⁶⁰ *Spanisch-Islamische Urkunden*, no. 24, a testament in Arabic drawn up in Guadalajara in 1440 by the *faqīh* Yūsuf al-Shābilī; no 29, *ṣadaqa*, drawn up in Medinaceli by the *imām* and *katib* of the *aljama* (not dated); Viguera, "partición de herencia", p. 94 ff. (= J 37).

possibility that he earned a living through other activities as well. The combination of a *faqīh*-ship with another profession was quite common. Brayme Aragonés from Valladolid, who lived at the beginning of the 15th century, was *alcalde*, *faqīh*, and merchant at the same time. It is clear that Yça Gidelli was for some time ‘the’ *faqīh* of the *aljama* of Segovia. We will see below that he was also an *imām* (prayer leader) and the *qāḍī* of the *aljama* (the Spanish equivalent is *alcalde*⁶¹) for some time, an office for which a *faqīh* was very suitable. The discussion of offices of *alcalde* and *alcalde mayor* leads us to a discussion of the place of the *aljama* of Segovia in the wider context of the judicial structure of Mudejar Islam in Castile.

IV.2.5.2. The *alcalde* and the *alcalde mayor*

The head of the official judicial hierarchy of the Castilian Mudejars was the *alcalde mayor de las aljamas de moros de Castilla*⁶². He was the supreme judge of the Castilian Mudejars, who being himself appointed by the king, played a part in appointing local *alcaldes*. He was in theory the judge of appeal with respect to internal civil and criminal lawsuits of the Mudejar community. The judicial power of the *alcalde mayor* was in practice more limited than in theory: besides the *alcalde mayor* Christian judges also seem to have acted as judges of appeal in Mudejar lawsuits. In 1465 Enrique IV granted the city of Madrid the privilege that the *regidores* of the town might act as judges of appeal (*alcaldes de alçadas*)⁶³. This privilege must have included the *aljama*, because in January 1481 the members of the Consejo “otorgaron una petición para la reyna nuestra señora sobre la apellación de los moros de la alcaldía de las alçadas para que se guarden los previlejos desta villa”⁶⁴. This means that the *consejo* stood up for its

⁶¹ See *Leyes de Moros*, e.g. *Título CXIX*, p. 156, “Como el allcall judgará un pleito”; *Breviario Sunni*, edition, p. 365, “De los alcaldes ordinarios y arbitrarios y sus juyzios y abençias”.

⁶² See on the judicial position in general: Torres Fontes, “El alcalde mayor”, *passim*; Ladero Quesada, “Los Mudéjares de Castilla en la baja Edad Media”, pp. 366-371.

⁶³ Millares Carlo, *Índice y extractos de los libros de cédulas y provisiones del Archivo Municipal de Madrid (siglos XV-XVI)*, pp. 13-14.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 59-60.

rights against the Crown in the case of Mudejar lawsuits⁶⁵. The same may have happened in Segovia, for in 1492 the *aljama* of that city protested to the Crown about the jurisdiction of the recently appointed *alcalde mayor*, and adduced that in the last forty or fifty years “non ha tenido alcalde mayor que de sus pleitos e causas civiles e criminales conosçiesen, salvo que la justiçia hordinaria de la dicha çibdad conoçia y ha conoçido”⁶⁶. The Catholic Monarchs considered that if the *aljama* had not had an “*alcalde mayor ni otro alcalde moro*” for so many years, this should not change now, and they decided that in the future these Mudejars would never have to appear “ante los dichos alcaldes mayores de las dichas aljamas, ni ante ellos ni ante sus lugartenientes”. Apparently the Mudejars of Segovia did not know precisely how long this situation had existed. Other documents shed more light on this problem. It appears that already between 1480 and 1490 the Mudejars of Segovia had refused to recognise the *alcalde mayor*, on the grounds that they had had no *alcalde mayor* since the times of Enrique IV⁶⁷. In August 1490 it was Abrahen Redomero from Toledo⁶⁸ who requested to be accepted as the *alcalde mayor* of the *aljama* of Segovia. The *aljama* refused to comply, on the grounds that at the time of Enrique IV there had been scandals and troubles (*escandalos and rruydos*) in the *aljama* because of the fact that it had an *alcalde mayor*, and that as a result many Mudejars had left the city, causing great harm to the *aljama*⁶⁹.

Both in Segovia and Madrid Islamic Law was therefore administered by the *justicia ordinaria*, the Christian judge who probably only acted as a judge of appeal, perhaps assisted by a *faqih* or several *fuqahā*. It seems unlikely that the official who dealt with internal judicial Mudejar cases was still called *alcalde* after this privilege was granted. In any case we know of no appointments of Muslim *alcaldes* in Segovia in the second half of the century. Both *aljamas* clearly saw this situation as a privilege. The interpretation of this repeated refusal of the Segovian *aljama* is very complicated.

⁶⁵ For a different interpretation of this document see Miguel Rodríguez, *La Comunidad Mudéjar de Madrid*, p. 45.

⁶⁶ Published in: Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel 1*, doc. 54 (March 1492), cf. Asenjo González, *Segovia*, p. 338.

⁶⁷ Torres Fontes, *op. cit.*, doc. IV (AGS RGS, February 1480, f. 259).

⁶⁸ See on him AGS M y P, 98-66. He was appointed *alcalde mayor* on 22 June 1489.

⁶⁹ These events are reported in AGS RGS August 1490, f. 82, a document which until now remained unnoticed.

Asenjo assumes that even though the Mudejars were no longer subordinate to the *alcalde mayor* after this privilege was granted, they still had an *alcalde* afterwards, but her arguments are not very strong⁷⁰. She interprets this event as evidence that the Mudejars of Segovia had little need to live separately from the Christian population. Indeed, there are signs that the populations mixed, even in judicial affairs. For example, in 1446 maestre Hocein acted as a judge in a lawsuit on the division of water between Juan de Nieva and Juan de Heredia, together with two Christian judges⁷¹. But there is more to be said about this event.

Firstly, there may be an 'Islamic' explanation. In *al-Mi'yār al-djādīd*, a collection of *fatwās* by Abū 'Īsā al-Mahdī b. Muḥammad al-Khidr Al-Wazzānī al-Fāsī (d. 1342/1923)⁷² the following summary of a *fatwā* by 'Abd Allāh al-'Abdūsī is found:

In the *Nawāzil* by Ibn Tarkāt⁷³ [is found] one of the answers by the *sayyid* 'Abd Allāh al-'Abdūsī concerning a document coming from the country of the Christians, based on the testimony [*shahāda*] of the believers [*mu'minīn*] residing in the country of the Christians. The text reads: if their stay in that place was of their own free will, that is undoubtedly a grave sin [*kabtra 'aẓma*] which obliges us to relinquish their testimony, for a stay among the Unbelievers, whilst being able to perform the *hidjra*, is forbidden in accordance with common agreement [*idjmā'*]. The Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, said: "I do not have responsibility for any Muslim who stays among the Polytheists"⁷⁴. If they are allowed to leave them [sc. the Polytheists] without having to fear for their lives and families, but leaving behind their property, it is their duty to leave, handing over [*bi-taslīm*] their properties, on the condition that they [the Polytheists] allow them [a sufficient amount] to reach Muslim territory. However, if they fear for their lives and families, they are allowed to stay among them, and it will not be considered as blameworthy behaviour affecting [the validity of] their *shahāda*. With respect to the *qāḍī* of that place [*alladhī hunāk*]; if the local

⁷⁰ Asenjo González, *Segovia*, p. 338, "aunque ellos contarían con sus alcaldes para cuestiones y litigios jurídicos". She seems to base this assessment on the fact that in the aforementioned document from 1510, published in Bataillon, "Les nouveaux chrétiens", p. 413, a certain Francisco de Santa Cruz is mentioned who was "*alcaide de la puerta de San Martín*". Does she confuse the offices of *alcaide* and *alcalde*?

⁷¹ Ruiz Hernando, *Historia*, vol. 1, pp. 97-8.

⁷² Vol. 3, pp. 22-3. See on al-Wazzānī: GAL S II, p. 890.

⁷³ On Ibn Tarkāt see: al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib*, vol. 5, p. 514, vol. 6, p. 153; Calero Secall, "Una aproximación al estudio de las fatwas granadinas: Los temas de las fatwas de Ibn Sirāy en los Nawāzil de Ibn Tarkāt", pp. 192-3. Ibn Tarkāt lived in Granada in the middle of the 15th century.

⁷⁴ Cf. al-Wansharīsī, *Mi'yār*, vol. 2, p. 125.

community of Muslims [*djama'at al-muslimin alladhi hunalik*] appoints him, his judgeship is allowed, as is the practice [*'amal*] based on his signature verifying the homologation [*khitab*], if it is certain that they [the community] appointed him, and that it is his handwriting, because the community exerts all power in case the Sultan is impeded. In case the Christian government [*sultān al-naṣārā*] appoints him, neither his appointment nor his verdict [*hukm*] is accepted, unless the community of the Muslims agrees with it willingly, and not under duress. In that case his verdict is acceptable as if he had been appointed in the first place by them out of their own free will, and this makes it their appointment and not the appointment [of the Christian government]. Consequently, once his appointment is confirmed and he [the *qādī*] appoints morally and juridically superior witnesses [*'udul mubarrizīn*] in order to testify between the people, the testimony on the basis of their handwriting [signature] is allowed if there is the possibility of verifying the soundness of the testimony given by *'udul* who are not present at court⁷⁵.

The *muftī* in question is to be identified as Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-'Abdūsī, who held the office of *khatīb* of the Qarawiyyīn mosque in Fās from 846/1442 until his death between 847/1443 and 849/1445. Al-'Abdūsī was the most important *muftī* of his time⁷⁶. This *fatwā* was therefore probably given in the first half of the 15th century⁷⁷. It is conceivable that this sort of legal reasoning was known to the Castilian Mudejars.

In addition to this we know that the persons appointed *alcalde* by the *alcalde mayor* or the King were not always favourably received

⁷⁵ Raf 'alā 'l-*shahāda*, i.e. *shahāda 'alā shahāda*, cf. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic Law*, p. 194.

⁷⁶ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Djadhwat al-iqtibās*, p. 425; Bābā, *Nayl*, pp. 157-8; Beck, *L'image d'Idrīs II*, p. 232.

⁷⁷ The text of the summary was translated in French in: Ibn Hudhayl, *L'Ornement des ames et la devise des habitants d'el Andalus*, vol. 2, pp. 60-1. Although many of al-'Abdūsī's *fatwās* were included in the *Mf̣yār*, this one is strikingly absent. Al-Wanṣharīsī, *Mf̣yār*, vol. 2, pp. 119-141, took in two well-known *fatwās*, written ca. 1491, on the duty of the *hidjra* a rigid position with respect to the reasons justifying a Muslim to refrain temporarily from the duty to emigrate from *dār al-kufr*. In al-Wanṣharīsī's opinion only seriously ill and disabled persons have an excuse. It is clear that al-'Abdūsī's opinion is far more moderate: if Muslims fear for their lives and families, they are allowed to stay among the Unbelievers, and it will not be considered blameworthy behaviour. This opinion can be interpreted as a sanction of the status quo. The absence of a more extensive discussion of this problem (which one would certainly have expected in al-Wanṣharīsī's second *fatwā* on a man from Marbella, *Mf̣yār*, vol. 2, pp. 137-41) is particularly striking in view of the widespread existence at that time of established Islamic communities under Christian rule. The most likely explanation for this absence seems to be that his legal reasoning and theological convictions impeded him from taking the *status quo* (based on the principle of *maṣlaha*, i.e. the well-being of the persons involved) as a point of departure. This may also explain why he remains silent on al-'Abdūsī's *fatwā*.

by the *aljamas*⁷⁸. It seems likely that the judicial hierarchy in the service of the Crown was often suspect in the eyes of the Mudejars. Another factor may have been that the persons appointed *alcalde* were not always learned in Islamic Law, and that sometimes even Christians were appointed *alcalde*. In 1469, for example, Fernand Gómez de Solis was appointed *alcalde de los judios y moros* in Badajoz by Enrique IV⁷⁹. The majority of the *alcaldes* exercised all sorts of professions. This was also the case with the *repartidores*.

IV.2.5.3. The *repartidores*

The other heads of the Mudejar community were the *repartidores*, who, like the *alcaldes*, were appointed for life. The repartidor was responsible for the distribution of the *servicio* and *medio servicio* among the *aljamas*.

It appears that in the middle of the 15th century there was a council of five *repartidores*, who fulfilled this task in addition to their normal professions. Each one of the members of this council was presumably responsible for part of the Castilian kingdom. In 1454, during the reign of Juan II, maestre Lope, son of maestre Yuça de Segovia, the “*maestre mayor de las obras e labores de los alcaçares de la villa de Madrid*”, was appointed *repartidor* of the *servicio* and *medio servicio* in the place of his father⁸⁰. At the time he was appointed the other *repartidores* were the following persons:

The first, maestre Farax Alçadafi from Toledo, was not only *repartidor mayor*, but also *alcalde mayor de las aljamas de moros de Castilla*⁸¹. It appears therefore that when Lope was appointed *repartidor* in 1454 the *alcalde mayor* was a member of the council of *repartidores*. The position *repartidor mayor* seems to imply that Farax was chairman of the council. At the same time, it appears that there was only one *repartidor mayor* in Castile just then. Although at this moment the office of *repartidor mayor* was held

⁷⁸ Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, doc. 24, December 1488. The Mudejars of Aranda de Duero rejected their *alcalde*; AGS RGS July 1492, f. 152, problems with respect to the *alcalde* of Plasencia, Hazis Bejarano.

⁷⁹ Bauer Landauer, *Catálogo de Cartas y documentos de mi archivo*, no. 27. I have not been able to see this document.

⁸⁰ AGS M y P 13, f. 10. See on him also AGS M y P 75, f. 23.

⁸¹ See on him: AGS M y P 2-398/399. In 1436 he and his family were granted tax exemption. He was a masterbuilder.

by the *alcalde mayor*, this was not always the case, in March 1480 for example Zafu Andado from Valladolid was appointed *repartidor mayor* and *alcalde* of the *aljama* of Valladolid⁸². The fact that both offices were sometimes held by one and the same person explains why the terms *juez mayor* (read: *alcalde mayor*) and *repartidor mayor* are being confused in documents from Murcia⁸³.

In 1454 the other members of the council were the *faqih* Ali Xarafi, who was *repartidor* for the kingdom of Toledo⁸⁴, Farax de Belvis⁸⁵, *repartidor* for the kingdom of Andalusia, and Hamet Carreton from Valladolid, who was *repartidor* for the kingdom of Old Castile⁸⁶.

The number of members of the council probably did not change between 1454 and 1467. In that latter year Ali de Bobadilla from Medina del Campo was appointed *repartidor*⁸⁷. In the document in which his appointment is confirmed, mention is also made of a council of five *repartidores*, but no names are mentioned.

In 1477 the Mudejars of Hornachos complained to the Catholic Monarchs about the fact that the *repartidores* had assessed them, while they and other *aljamas* belonging to the Order of Santiago were exempted from paying the *servicio* and *medio servicio*⁸⁸. The five *repartidores* who had to investigate this complaint were Maestre Lope and Maestre Hamete, inhabitants of Madrid, Maestre Yuçaf de Talavera and Mahomad de Talavera from Segovia and Amet (sic) Carreton from Valladolid. It is remarkable that all *repartidores* came from Old Castile.

⁸² AGS RGS, March 1484, f. 190, cf. Torres Fontes, *op.cit.*, 167; Miguel Rodríguez, *op.cit.*, p. 65.

⁸³ Cf. Torres Fontes, *op.cit.*, pp. 164-5.

⁸⁴ It is uncertain whether he was related to Abraham Xarafi, a *faqih* from Toledo, who was appointed *alcalde mayor* in 1475, AGS RGS 1475 January 17, f. 232.

⁸⁵ This man, who lived in Guadalajara, had been appointed *alcalde mayor* by the Catholic Monarchs in 1475, cf. Torres Fontes, *op.cit.*, pp. 175-180. He may have been a member of the well-known Bellvis family, who for generations occupied the post of *alcadi general* in the Kingdom of Aragon, see: Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, pp. 43-49; Febrer Romaguera, "Los Bellvis, una dinastia mudéjar de alcadies generales de Valencia, Aragon y principado de Cataluña", *passim*.

⁸⁶ See on him: AGS M y P 6, f. 96; on his son Abraham Carreton: AGS M y P 6, f. 95.

⁸⁷ AGS M y P 6, f. 141.

⁸⁸ AGS RGS August 1477, f. 426.

IV.2.6. *The religious climate*

Not much is known about the religious ideas of the Mudejar population in 15th-century Spain, but we will see below that there is good reason to assume that the news of the conquest of Constantinople aroused the apocalyptic expectations of Yça: it had a similar effect on the Jews and Conversos⁸⁹. A text demonstrating that the conquests of the Turks led to apocalyptic expectations among the Mudejars is a still unpublished Aljamiado prophecy attributed to a certain 'Fray Juan de Rokasia'⁹⁰. This is a prophecy for the year "mil i ku*atro çï'entos y ochenta i medi'o", i.e. the middle of the year 1485(?). In the entire text the dates are given according to the 'incarnation', i.e. the Christian calendar. It seems to break off in the middle. We are dealing here with an anonymous elaboration of a prophetic text written in 1356 by the French Franciscan Jean de Roquetaillade⁹¹. Its direct source is Roquetaillade's *Vade Mecum in Tribulatione*, which predicted the coming of Antichrist before 15 July 1362 and which was meant to guide the faithful through the tribulations which would afflict Christendom preceding the Messianic era. Since the work is extant in an Aljamiado version we can be certain that the anonymous 'adaptator' was a Spanish Muslim⁹². The original prophecy, which does not concern us here, underwent a radical change in many respects. In the 'book of revelations' referred to in the Aljamiado prophecy a certain emperor Azarā'il (Izrā'il is the name of the Angel of Death in the Islamic tradition⁹³) announces the destruction of the Christian world by the Turks and the Greeks before the afore-mentioned year: Italy (Rome!), Lombardy, Hungary and Germany (*Kolonya*), cities such as Pisa, Siena, Florence, Valencia, Naples, and Paris (*la çibdad de los filósofos i juristas*) will be destroyed. The orders of

⁸⁹ Baer, *Historia de los Judíos en la España Cristiana*, vol. 2, p. 540 ff.; Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I/2, p. 437 (an Inquisition document from Valencia dated 1464, in which mention is made of Conversos who wish to go to Palestine, pp. 468, 513, 528 (mentioning a prophesy which predicts that the Messiah will take the Jews to the promised land (*tierra de promisión*)).

⁹⁰ Madrid, B.N. 5305 (Saa 45). The text is discussed in Sánchez Álvarez, "Algunos aspectos sobre los Turcos en la literatura de los Moriscos", *passim*.

⁹¹ Cf. J. Bignami-Odier, *Études sur Jean de Roquetaillade*, pp. 157-174.

⁹² A MS containing a prophecy by Jean de Roquetaillade was also extant in the library of Juan de Segovia in 1456, see Hernández Montes, *Biblioteca de Juan de Segovia*, no. 65, p. 99.

⁹³ Cf. EI² s.v. 'Izrā'il [art. A.J. Wensinck], and s.v. malā'ika (angels).

the black and white monks, the Dominicans and the Carmelites respectively, will be deprived of their possessions. As the original prophecy, the Aljamiado adaptation forecasts the destruction of the church for its sins. But unlike the original, the Aljamiado text predicts that the only persons who will be spared are those who profess the Islamic testimony of faith, the *shahāda*, a clear reference to the Muslims⁹⁴. Then there will be all sorts of catastrophes: “Bernán en el mundo muchas t^{re}bulaçï^ones i tenpestedades i terrimotes i fanb^eres i sekedades i mortandades i gerras”⁹⁵. Social revolts are predicted as well: the common people will revolt against the mighty, the small animals against the big ones, because they are no longer prepared to suffer tyranny: “Senefika ke la chente komun de ke no pu^edan sufrir las tirani^oas i las rrobati^oas de los mayores” (f. 66r). These are all signs of the end of time. At the very end the coming of the Antichrist is predicted. But the name of this Antichrist will be al-Fāṭimī, which is the most common designation of the Mahdī in the Muslim West, indicating that he will belong to the *ahl al-bayt*⁹⁶. This shows that events perceived by Jean de Roquetaillade as evidence of the appearance of the Antichrist are interpreted by the anonymous Mudejar as the beginning of the eschatological salvation of the Muslims in Christian Spain. It would be possible to comment in much greater detail upon this very interesting text, but what concerns us here is the fact that it shows that the conquests by the Turks awoke eschatological expectations among Muslims in 15th-century Christian Spain. It is certainly not the only prophecy that circulated among the Muslims of Christian Spain, though it seems to be the only one which undoubtedly dates from the 15th century and the only one in which the End of Time seems to be very near⁹⁷.

⁹⁴ Madrid, B.N. 5305, f. 64v, “Por tanto de las per^{so}nas iglesi^oastikos muchos p^{re}çerán por manos de los Turkos k^{ru}“eles, / ke de sus manos no eskapará sino él ke /terná el señal de Lā ila ilaha ila Allāh Muhammad raçūl Allāh” [sic].

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 65r.

⁹⁶ See García-Arenal, “La conjonction du Sūfisme et Sharīfisme au Maroc: le Mahdī comme sauveur”, p. 233.

⁹⁷ A short discussion of other extant prophecies (all written in *aljamía*) may illustrate this. Paris, B.N. Ar. 774, a *madjimtā* of several texts for religious and practical use, contains several prophecies (the MS is published by Sánchez Álvarez under the title *El Manuscrito misceláneo 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París*, hereafter Paris, B.N. Ar. 774). On f. 278 of this MS is found a “*Rrekontami^oento de los eskándalos ke an de akaeçer en la çaguería de los t^{re}enpos en la isla de España*”. This is a prophecy which came into existence after the conversions of 1502, which it ‘predicts’: “En akel d^o‘a (viz. 906/1502) abrá muchas de las

IV.3. THE AUTHORSHIP AND ORIGIN OF THE THIRTEEN ARTICLES OF THE FAITH

One of the works which Yça began to write in Romance in Spain before December 1454 was the creed called the *Thirteen Articles of the Faith*⁹⁸. It is likely that this work is identical with the work referred to by Yça in the introduction to the *Breviario Sunni* (published in appendix 3) as a “traslado de los sus artículos [viz. of the Qur’ān]”. Since the word *traslado* means both translation and transcript we may wonder whether Yça simply copied out an already existing work or whether he indeed translated the text from Arabic into Spanish. As we will see below, it seems more likely that Yça only made a transcript (possibly of Aljamiado into Spanish), though it cannot be ruled out entirely that the work was translated from Arabic into Spanish for the occasion. In this section I will examine the significance of this creed.

This *‘aqīda* came to form part of the *Breviario Sunni*, which means that at least some parts of that work came into existence long before 1462. It is also to be found in three other texts: (a) the *Breve Compendio de la santa ley y sunna*⁹⁹, (b) the above-men-

jentes de los chicos de los grandes i de las mujeres que se farán k’risti’anos” (Paris, B.N. Ar. 774, f. 282r). There is also a reference to the captivity of the king of France in Spain after the battle of Pavia, which took place in 1525 (*ibidem*, f. 285v). The second prophecy (f. 289r-293v) is a “*Profeç’a sakada por estroloj’a i por el sabi’o digno de g’ran çenç’a Sant Esidr’o*”, which also predicts the conversions of 1501. The third begins as follows: “Este es el p’lanto de España, el ku’al sakó Sant Isidr’o ...”, which predicts the conquest of Spain by the Muslims, after “se levantará en ori’ente una poderosa sirpi’ente, i çerkará la ciwdad antiga de Kostantinoble ...”(297r). The last one is a ‘prophecy’ (or rather several Traditions) put into the mouth of the Prophet Muhammad. It consoles those who live as ‘strangers’ in Spain (f. 305v), but does not predict a future conquest of the Iberian peninsula, on the contrary: Muhammad is pictured weeping because the island of ‘Andaluz’a’ is the last place to have been conquered by Islam, but also the first that will be lost (f. 308r). It is not entirely certain that this last text dates from the 16th century (cf. López-Baralt, “El oráculo”, *passim*). It might have been written earlier. In all these prophecies the awareness of the end of time is much vaguer than in the prophecy by ‘Fray Juan’, while all other texts are inbedded in Muslim thought. Even the *Rrekontami’ento de los eskándalos ke an de akæçer en la çagueria de los t’i’enos en España* does not explicitly say that the Day of Judgement is near. As far as we can tell, therefore, the expectation of the end of time was particularly alive in the years following the conquest of Constantinople. In the *wasīyya* contained in R.A.H. T 18 (‘dated’ 1479/884), published in Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, pp. 401-6, a future conquest of Rome is predicted, but no reference is made to eschatological notions. See on Mudejar and Morisco prophecy in general: Lincoln, “Aljamiado Prophecies”.

⁹⁸ This refutes Epalza’s hypothesis about the cooperation between Yça Gidelli and Juan de Segovia as the beginning of Islamic Spanish literature, cf. chapter I.

⁹⁹ Cambridge Dd. 9. 49 f. 12v-16v, apud: Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, appendix A (4), pp. 66-76.

tioned anonymous Aljamiado text, *Tratado y Declaración y Guía para seguir y mantener el addīn del alislām* (partly published in appendix 5)¹⁰⁰, and (c) Paris, B.N. Esp. 397¹⁰¹. In the margin of f. 6r in Paris, Esp. 397 the following remark is made: “Note and learn by heart these thirteen articles and act accordingly; that is salvation”¹⁰²! Both this brief remark and the number of MSS which contain this creed seem to suggest that it occupied an important place in the religious life of the Muslims in Christian Spain. But in order to establish the real importance of this ‘*aqīda*’ we need to know whether other ‘*aqīdas*’ also circulated in Arabic or Romance among them.

Two other ‘*aqīdas*’ were found, besides the *al-murshida* of Ibn Tūmart, discussed above. The first is included in Escorial 1880, an Aljamiado manuscript (Saa 53)¹⁰³. The creed is mentioned in a versified *khutba*, to be read at ‘*īd al-fitr*’¹⁰⁴:

Another ‘*aqīda*’ is found in two MSS: In Paris, B.N. Ar. 425, f. 4v-35r, and in J 101 E/1¹⁰⁵. The former is an interlinear Arabic Aljamiado version, the latter is found in the testament of Ādam, son of the *mu‘allim* (schoolmaster) ‘Abdallāh al-Zajardo from Guadalajara, dated 20 *Rabī‘* I 844/18 September 1440. The testament was written in Arabic. Since the latter version is also the more complete, I will base myself on that document in what follows.

Ādam testifies that there is no God but God, that He is one and has no partners, that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger (*rasūl*), that the message brought by him is the truth (*ḥaqq*), that Paradise is a reality, that the Fire is a reality, that the scale (*al-mizān*) is a reality, that the Bridge (Ar. *al-ṣirāt*) is a reality, that the resurrection of the dead is a reality, that the hour will come, that God will raise the dead from their graves, that the messages of all prophets are true, that God’s priority is without beginning and his

¹⁰⁰ Kontzi, *AT*, vol.2, pp. 877-885, published the first seven folios; see also Wiegers, “Los manuscritos aljamiados como fuentes históricas para el siglo XVI”, *passim*.

¹⁰¹ Morel Fatio 38, not mentioned in Saavedra. See on this work chapter V.4.

¹⁰² “Nota y ten siempre en memoria estos 13 artículos y obra por ellos que la salvación del alma”.

¹⁰³ On this text see also below, chapter VI.3.; Bussell Thompson, “La Alhotba arrimada”, *passim*.

¹⁰⁴ Published by Müller, “Morisco-Gedichte”, pp. 202-4.

¹⁰⁵ Published in: Hoenerbach, *Spanisch-Islamische Urkunden*, no. 24.

posteriority without end, that the Qur'ān is His uncreated word¹⁰⁶, that he (Ādam) has lived according to this creed and that he hopes to die with it, to be resurrected and to enjoy the intercession of the Prophet (with God) (*al-shafā'a*).

Besides these two creeds and the *Thirteen Articles* there is one other (Spanish) creed, but as far we know, it was only after the expulsion that this 'aqīda by the well-known scholar al-Sanūsī¹⁰⁷ was translated into Spanish, namely in Algiers in 1030/1620¹⁰⁸. Since there is no evidence that al-Sanūsī's creed was read by Muslims in Christian Spain there is no need to discuss it in this section.

The contents of the *Thirteen Articles* can be summarized as follows. One has to believe the following:

Article 1: There is one God, who created the world from nothing.

Article 2: Muḥammad brought the Qur'ān, on the basis of which everyone has to follow the *sunna* of the Prophet, therefore the deeds need to be in accordance with the faith which increases and decreases.

Article 3: (All creatures have to die), God is almighty, to believe in the 'ordenación' (cf. EI² s.v. *ḳadā' wa'l-ḳadar*) (Everyone except for the learned is forbidden to talk about the 'ordenación'). God accepts repentance (Ar.: *al-tawba*), two angels write down man's deeds.

Article 4: Questioning of the deceased in the grave by Munkar and Nakir. It depends on the nature of the answer given by the deceased whether he will be punished or not.

Article 5: Every creature has to die. The last one to die is the Angel of Death who receives all spirits between paradise and the fire.

Article 6: Resurrection. Upon the sign of Isrāfīl all bodies will be united with their spirits. The judgement will take place in a large field.

Article 7: The Day of Judgement. The book of deeds is handed over to the creatures.

¹⁰⁶ Hoenerbach translates erroneously "erschaffen", the Arabic text reads: "*laysa bi-makhlūq*".

¹⁰⁷ GAL II, 250; S II, p. 352.

¹⁰⁸ Harvey, "A Morisco manuscript in the Godolphin Collection", *passim*.

Article 8: Two intercessions (Ar.: *al-ṣhaḥāʿa*) of the Prophet Muḥammad on behalf of the believers¹⁰⁹; in the second all those who affirm the *tawḥīd* (sc. all the Muslims) are saved from the fire. Every creature has to account for his deeds (Ar.: *al-ḥisāb*). The Muslims are the first to account for theirs, since they are witnesses to the other peoples mentioned in the Qurʾān (which is the word of God)¹¹⁰.

Article 10: The scale on which the deeds are weighed (Ar.: *al-mīzān*). Article 11: All people have to pass the bridge (Ar.: *al-sirāt*).

Article 12: The Garden (Ar.: *al-djanna*), where the believers will see the face of God, before the entrance into the Garden. A 'second'¹¹¹ intercession by Muḥammad takes place. Those who enter the Garden are 'cleansed' in the basin (Ar.: *al-ḥawḍ*, Sp. *la bolsa*).

Article 13: The Fire (Ar.: *al-djahannam*).

The first element of article 3 is nearly identical with article 5: both articles begin with the statement that all creatures will die. The second intercession is also mentioned twice: in articles 8 and 12. These duplications suggest that the creed was written quite carelessly. All elements are dealt with very briefly, and in particular the shortness of the first article makes it virtually impossible to place it in the wider context of the historical development of the Muslim creed¹¹². No mention of the attributes of God (Ar.: *al-sifāt*) is made. There are no important differences between this creed and the two other discussed above. The major problem is whether Yça compiled the creed at the request of Juan de Segovia or whether it was already circulating among the Mudejars. Harvey draws attention to the striking similarity between the *Thirteen Articles* and a Muslim creed in twelve articles found in the *Libre del Gentil e los tres Savis* by the famous Raymundus Lullus (1235?-1315)¹¹³. This

¹⁰⁹ *Tratado y Declaración y Guía*, f. 31v, intercalates that as a result of the first intercession "abrebi'e su ku'ento". This phrase is not to be found in N 1 f. 4r/ J 1 f. 14v, and the other MSS of the *Breviario Sunni*.

¹¹⁰ N 1 "que es palabra de Dios" (J 1 Allāh). This phrase is only mentioned in N 1 / J 1, not in the other MSS of the *Breviario Sunni*.

¹¹¹ Only in the *Tratado y Declaración y Guía*, f. 33v (see appendix 5), this is the third intercession. In all MSS of the *Breviario Sunni* it is mentioned as the second intercession.

¹¹² No such creed is mentioned in Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*.

¹¹³ Harvey, "'The Thirteen Articles of the Faith' and 'The Twelve Degrees in which the World is governed'", passim. The 12 articles are found in *Libre IV: de la creença dels sarraïns*, in: *Obres essencials*, vol. 1, pp. 1118-1142. The work was allegedly written first in

is a religious polemic between a 'heathen' (*gentil*) on the one side, and a Jew, a Muslim and a Christian on the other. If Yça based himself for some reason on Lull's creed this would imply that a Muslim scholar used the work of a Christian theologian to explain the essentials of his own faith. But was that the case? The Muslim creed in the *Libre del Gentil* includes the following articles:

Article 1: "Creure un Déu". This article is very briefly dealt with, because the Jew had already made this point before the Muslim and that suffices.

Article 2: "Nós creem que Déus ha creades totes coses, e creem que Déus haja creat lo mal, e.l bé, e la colpa, e.l pecat, e.l mèrit, e que totes coses vénen e són vengudes de Déu".

Article 3: "Que Mafumet sia profeta".

Article 4: "Que l'Alcorà sia paraula de Déu" (mentioned in Yça 9).

Article 5: "Nós creem que quan hóme és mort e és soterrat, que dos àngels de Déu li demanen cinc coses ...".

Article 6: "De la mort de totes coses exeptat Déu. Nos creem que totes coses morran sinó Déu; ço és a saber, hòmens, àngels, demonis e totes coses vivents".

Article 7: "De resurreció. Nós creem que totes les coses vivents seran mortes; que a cap de quarenta jornes plourà del cel aigua que serà enaixí blanca com a let ...".

Article 8: "Com Mafumet serà exoït. Nos creem que Mafumet pregarà Déus per lo poble, e que serà exoït".

Article 9: "De retre compte".

Article 10: "Seran pesats los mèrits e les colpes".

Article 11: "De la carrera de paradís e infern".

Article 12: "De paradís e d'infern".

The contents of the articles seem to indicate that the similarities between the two texts cannot be mere coincidence. The best example of this is certainly Lull's article 5: "Nos creem que totes coses morran sinó Déu; ço és a saber, hòmens, àngels, demonis e totes coses vivents", whereas Yça's article 5 (N 1 f. 3v) reads "que todas las cosas morirán saluo Dios, es a sauer: hombres y angeles y demonios y todas las cosas biuientes"¹¹⁴. However, the differences are as remarkable as the similarities. The second part of

Arabic before 1270 and translated into Romance in 1272 (*ibidem*, p. 1055).

¹¹⁴ J 1 be⁹entaras.

Yça's article 3 shows a remarkably close relationship with the above-mentioned *‘aqīda* included in Escorial 1880 (“y kereer que es berdad la ordenança, y lo ordenado s’abe a cunpilir sin nengun dubdança, y todo es ordenado el bien y el mal, y lo dulce y lo amargo y todo lo al”). The subject, that of predestination, is only very summarily dealt with in Lull’s corresponding article 2. The element of the basin of the Prophet, *al-hawd* (mentioned in Yça’s article 12 and Escorial 1880¹¹⁵) is absent from Lullus’s creed. From these examples it follows that the similarities in wording can only be explained if it is assumed that both creeds are based on common source material: the similarities appear to be limited to some isolated phrases only. This common source remains to be identified.

The combination of a statement on the Unicity of God and a strong accent on the afterlife and the eschatological events (the *umūr al-ākħira*), a lack of stress on God’s ‘essence’ and the absence of complicated theological reasoning are common elements in all creeds mentioned above. It seems possible that Lullus’s source was an *‘aqīda* directed to the common people circulating either in Tunisia¹¹⁶ or in Christian Spain. If it is remembered that at this time the Hafsīd empire was still firmly attached to the Almohad doctrine, and that the same doctrine also circulated in Christian Spain in Romance and Latin it is possible that this source was an elaborated (Romance?) version of the *tawhīd* or the *al-murshīda*. A *Vorlage* of the Berlin MS of the Almohad creed published by Goldziher contains also an enumeration of the *umūr al-ākħira* besides the *al-murshīda* itself. The elements mentioned in that MS are the questioning by the two angels, *yawm al-qiyāma*, the *mīzān*, the bridge, the basin (as was seen above, this element is to be found in the *Thirteen Articles* but not in Lull’s creed), and the Garden¹¹⁷. We also know that the enumeration of these elements varies in the different *‘aqīdas*¹¹⁸. One might assume that the *umūr al-ākħira* mentioned in some MSS of the *al-murshīda* were elabor-

¹¹⁵ EI² s.v. *hawd* [art. A.J. Wensinck]. Wensinck devotes attention to the place of the basin. In the creed in al-Ghazālī’s *Ihya’ ‘ulām al-dīn*, *al-hawd* is mentioned between the *shafā’a* and the description of Hell and Paradise (*Ihya’*, vol 1, p. 97). In Yça’s article 12 it is a place where the Believers receive their heavenly state.

¹¹⁶ On the contacts between the Franciscan and Dominican orders and Hafsīd Tunisia, see Chorão Lavajo, “Túnis e o primeiro *studium arabicum*”, *passim*.

¹¹⁷ Goldziher, “Bekanntnisformeln”, p. 170; Massé, “La profession de foi”, p. 120.

¹¹⁸ See for example al-Ghazālī, *Ihya’ ‘ulām al-dīn*, vol I, pp. 97-9.

ated on, and that such an elaborated version of the *al-murshida* provided the common source material of both Yça and Lullus. Nadjdjār points out that a number of commentaries on the *al-murshida* were written in the Maghrib¹¹⁹. In this respect it is remarkable that the *al-murshida* is found in the position of the first of the *Thirteen Articles* in the *Tratado y Declaración y Guía*¹²⁰. Apparently Mudejars perceived no contradiction between Yça's creed and the Almohad doctrine.

From the above it follows that some elements of the *Thirteen Articles* circulated in Romance among the Muslims in Christian Spain before 1455, and that perhaps some sort of elaborated version of the Almohad creed was used. We have seen that the present text suggests that the creed was drawn up before the number of articles was chosen. There must have been some reason to rearrange the creed in thirteen articles. It is well-known that the Jewish philosopher Maimonides had written a creed in thirteen articles centuries before¹²¹. Perhaps the *Thirteen Articles* as we know them today were originally drawn up to distinguish Islamic belief from Jewish doctrine in order to prevent conversions. But this, the authorship of the creed, and the reasons why it became popular among the Muslims in Christian Spain, largely remains a matter of speculation.

IV.4. THE SUMMARIUM SUPER QUOLIBET PSALMORUM ALCHURANI AND THE TRILINGUAL TRANSLATION OF THE QUR'ĀN (1454-1456)

As we have seen above Yça Gidelli gave Juan de Segovia several writings upon his arrival in Aiton, including not only the *Thirteen Articles* but also, in a completed form, a work described by Juan de Segovia in the introduction to the translation of the Qur'ān as a "summary of the explanation of all the *sūras* of the Qur'ān", and both in the *Donatio* and in his letters as a *summarium psalmorum omnium in yspano ydeomate* and as a *summarium omnium azoararum*. This Romance work was eventually bound together in one MS with the text of the trilingual Qur'ān. Seven years later Yça

¹¹⁹ Nadjdjār, *Al-mahdr Ibn Tūmart*, p. 449 ff.

¹²⁰ f. 7v-8v, see appendix 5.

¹²¹ See *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. Articles of the Faith.

Gidelli himself referred to his cooperation with Juan de Segovia in the prologue to the *Breviario Sunni*, mentioning the fact that he had not only made a translation of the Qur'ān into Romance but had also written two other works in order to “bring about a better understanding”: a ‘transcript’ (*traslado*) of its articles and a *suma* of its (sc. the Qur'ān's) sentences and meanings. In this passage Yça was apparently referring to Juan de Segovia. We know that he wished to learn from his collaborator “the sentences and meanings of its texts”, as appears from Yça's letter to Juan de Segovia from 24 April 1454, which will be discussed below. The first work mentioned in this passage can, as we have seen above, be identified as the *Thirteen Articles*. The nature of the second work is less clear.

There seem to be three possible explanations. The *summarium* might be identical with the present first chapter of the *Breviario Sunni*. This is a short summary (it occupies only a few pages) of Muslim ethics, introduced in N 1, f. 1r, by the words “suma breue y compendiosa de los principales mandamientos y debedamientos que en la ley y açuna se contienen”¹²². But if this identification is correct, we have to assume that the descriptions of both Juan de Segovia and Yça are misleading, for chapter 1 of the *Breviario Sunni* is not a summary of *all sūras*, but deals with Islamic Law in general. A second possible explanation might be that the *Summarium* is identical with a part of the *Tratado y Declaración y Guía* (discussed in V.2.). I have dealt with this possibility in an earlier study¹²³. An argument in favour of this hypothesis is that this work can be seen as an explanation of the Qur'ān, but unfortunately the same objection as mentioned in (a) holds true with regard to this case: it does not deal exclusively with the contents of the Qur'ān. The last possibility is that the *summarium* was some sort of Qur'ān commentary. If this work is indeed to be identified as a piece of *tafsīr* written in Spanish, the question arises as to the relationship between this text and the translation of the Qur'ān itself. In this section I will examine this problem.

¹²² J 1, f. 3v, is corrupt here. The same reading is found in S 3, f. 4r-4v: “Suma brebe y compendiosa de los quales mandamientos y debedamientos que en la ley y çunna se contienen”. The chapter can also be found in the *Tratado y declaración y guía*, f. 20v ff., mentioned as “capítulo primero” although it is in fact not the first chapter of the work; cf. *edition*, p. 253 ff.

¹²³ Wiegers, “Īsā b. Yābir and the Origins of Aljamiado literature”, pp. 172-5.

The first contacts between Yça and Juan de Segovia possibly date from the beginning of 1454. On 24 April, more than a year and a half before his arrival in Aiton, Yça sent a letter to Juan de Segovia in which he wrote that he accepted the assignment. As we saw above, the letter was translated into Latin and incorporated in Vat. Lat. 2923, perhaps because it provided unsuspected testimony to the desirability of a faithful translation of the Qur'ān. In appendix 2 both the Latin text and a tentative English translation are found.

It seems likely that the letter had originally been written in Spanish. A gloss on f. 178r clarifies an expression in the underlying text concerning Juan de Segovia's wish to have the Qur'ān interpreted in Romance in a way described as *de pe a pa*, an expression which, according to a remark in the margin, "amounts to saying 'word for word' in the Spanish vernacular"¹²⁴. It seems obvious that the person who translated this letter into Latin (perhaps a clerk) had no intention of conveying Yça's words as accurately as possible. Sometimes the word "etcetera" indicates that the continuation of a sentence was deemed as irrelevant. As a result the interpretation of the highly theological discourse of this letter has become a perilous affair. In spite of this, some conclusions can be drawn from this unique 'authentic' source.

It appears that the letter was written as a result of a meeting between Yça and a person described as a 'pupil' (*alumpnus*, f. 178v) of Juan de Segovia who conveyed the latter's demands to Yça. It is unclear whether this meeting was the first contact between Juan de Segovia and Yça, though that seems likely; Yça writes that he has *heard* of the bishop's noble virtues and piety. This seems to imply that the two had never met before. The identity of the pupil is uncertain. Yça tells Juan de Segovia that one of the reasons for him to cooperate was that he felt obliged to him. Perhaps he was a clergyman who was acquainted with Juan de Segovia. Yça tells Juan de Segovia that he is willing to cooperate, in spite of the fact that the salary appears to be no more than that of a (grave)digger (*fossor*). The keen irony of Yça's words here indicate his self-esteem: he does not see himself merely as a subordinate informant. Yet, from the rest of the letter it may appear that he was not a wealthy man.

¹²⁴ It is indeed an established expression, though in modern dictionaries it is explained as "from the beginning to the end".

The demands of Juan de Segovia appear to have been twofold: (a) to have a literal translation of the Qur'ān into Spanish and (b) to have the benefit of learning the "meanings and explanations of its texts" from the translator into Romance. The second wish of Juan de Segovia, to learn from the translator the explanation of the contents and meaning of the Qur'ān, apparently implied that Yça had to leave his community and travel to Aiton (the '*partes de lebante*' mentioned in the prologue to the *Breviario Sunni*, see appendix 3). This, Yça tells Juan de Segovia, is a drawback, "not because it occurs in my great need, but because there is nobody here to replace me [viz. in Segovia], for I have an office" (the nature of this office will be discussed in IV.7.3). In spite of this office and the responsibility referred to above the nature of the request compelled Yça to collaborate: he seems to picture Juan de Segovia as able to cut through all obstacles and he speaks of "files ... able to sever ties and iron shackles".

There were other motives for accepting the assignment to translate the Qur'ān as well. First of all, Yça described Juan de Segovia's plan to make a literal translation of the Qur'ān as a "decisive, angelic cause" and "one of the seven works called angelic". These are probably references to the task of the angels to convey divine messages to mankind. Apparently Yça perceived his task as being part of a Divine plan. This conception is also evoked when he writes: "I want this [i.e. to translate, G.W.] in order to serve [God's?] administration".

Secondly, and more important, it seems that Yça had had an experience of enlightenment. The word enlightenment (*illuminatio*) itself is mentioned three times. Yça speaks of enlightenment of his soul to be attained by study. He also says that he wrote the letter to Juan de Segovia "by candlelight, enlightened, as it were, by God". Finally, he confesses that the human will had kept him chained and captured in former times, but "when it pleased God to enlighten me so that I would understand His Sacred Scripture I found in it the secrets which exist in many places owing to our deficiency but remain covered up". This almost certainly implies that he had some sort of mystical experience and that he was able to grasp the esoteric meaning of the Qur'ān afterwards. This impression is confirmed by the very complicated cosmological argument. Here he says that "the world is controlled by two poles (*axibus*) of four ... dispositions, which have been shown to us and which bring about the accidental things. They show that the govern-

ments would be imperfect, etc.” (the sentence and the argument are unfinished). The word pole (Latin: *axis*, Ar.: *al-qutb*) can be used in two ways, astronomical and mystical. It seems likely that the term is used here in the latter sense. In Islamic mysticism a temporal pole (*qutb al-waqt* or *qutb al-ghawth*, the helper) and a cosmic one are distinguished. The *qutb* is the head of the saintly hierarchy. The temporal *qutb*, the perfect man, exists by virtue of the cosmic pole, manifest in him¹²⁵. The same mystical conception of the world may also be the background of the remark: “a Remover of uncertainties, with the true absolute perfection which shows one eternal Operator with might and wisdom, without change, may have been placed in the world, for the benefit of mankind on behalf of the necessary and the inevitable”. Since we only dispose of the inadequate Latin translation, it is impossible to draw more exact conclusions.

The passage about the feasibility of a Qur’ān translation needs some closer attention, because it sheds new light on the nature of the translation of the Qur’ān. Again, we are obliged to proceed on the basis of the difficult and unsatisfactory Latin text which appears to state that:

the second thing would be to extend perfection to the infinite Scripture and its perfection of the Qur’ān. I am of the opinion that it is possible to make a book containing glosses belonging to the subject matter, yet it would not be possible to interpret [rimari?] it -and no one would permit that either-save in accordance with its eternal and constant meaning, for which kings jointly laid the foundation, together with high and important teachers, for the sake of understanding the grammar of the Arabic language and the reasons for which its verses received their origin, [and] why it [viz. the Qur’ān] was sent [down]. And if I had true peace, then I would tell you as frankly as I can about all these things with the true love I have conceived for you in accordance with the noble and outstanding virtues of a generous lord.

Although the precise meaning of these lines is uncertain, it seems to appear that in 1454 Yça considered writing a book containing glosses in order to explain the contents of the Qur’ān to Juan de Segovia. But Yça warns him that the interpretation of the Qur’ān cannot be undertaken by anybody or in accordance with one’s own views. Some lines below he takes up this point and warns Juan de

¹²⁵ See EI² s.v. *al-kutb*, section 2 [art. F. de Jong].

Segovia again that although his wish to know the contents of the Qur'ān is a pious one:

He [God] placed the Scripture in a perfect way in the mouth of that great, deeply pious prophet Muḥammad at the time when the heretics had the Sacred House full of idols, whilst He sent him [viz. the Prophet Muḥammad] to warn them [the heretics] in a mysterious manner. He was thus enabled by God to provide the idolaters with knowledge of God and with the good of the prophet Muḥammad He implemented that true guidance.

The background of this entire passage is Islamic thought about the nature of the Qur'ān, and therefore Yça is almost certainly referring to the *asbāb al-nuzūl*, the rules of Arabic grammar, and the *tafsīr* works of the great Muslim scholars. The central issue is the problem whether it was allowed to translate the Qur'ān, or to comment upon the Qur'ān in another tongue than Arabic¹²⁶. The concern of Muslim theologians was the separation of the spheres of the divine and the created world, in other words the fear that a translation of the Qur'ān might replace the Revelation itself. In this respect the Ash'arites and the Hanafi-Maturidites tried to maintain the middle way against the Mu'tazila (createdness of the Qur'ān) on the one hand and the Ḥaṣhiyya (who maintained that even the written Qur'ān is eternal) on the other¹²⁷:

The Qur'ān, the uncreated word of God, inspired and revealed by Him is not He nor other than He, but his real Attribute, written in the copies, recited by the tongues, preserved in the breasts, yet not residing there. The ink, the paper, the writing are created, for they are the work of men. The word of God on the other hand is uncreated, for the writing and the letters and the words and the verses are manifestations [*dalāla*] of the Qur'ān for

¹²⁶ According to Tibawi, "Is the Qur'ān translatable?", p. 7, there is no such problem. He writes: "To interpret the Qur'ān in its own language, or in any other [my italics, G.W.], was from the days of the Prophet up to the days of Abū Hanīfa generally allowed and widely practised". This seems to be oversimplified. As far as I know, there is one *fatwā* which deals with the lawfulness of translating *tafsīr*, in which case no objections were made. The *fatwā* was given by Hanafite 'ulamā' on the request of the Sāmānid ruler Mansūr b. Nūh (350/961-366/976) who wished to know whether it was permissible to translate the *Tafsīr* by al-Tabarī into Persian (see on these 'ulamā': Gutas, "Avicenna's maḡhab", pp. 329-30). It is interesting to notice that there are two arguments upon which these 'ulamā' base their approval of that translation (I base myself on the Latin translation of the introduction to this translation in Du Rieu, *Codices Arabici*, p. 371). First of all, they pointed out that *sūra* 14: 4 reads: "We never sent a messenger but with the speech of his people, that he might make things clear to them". Furthermore they drew attention to the fact that between the days of Adam and the days of Ismā'il mankind spoke Persian, whereas the first who spoke Arab was the prophet Ismā'il.

¹²⁷ EI² s.v. *kalām* [art. L. Gardet].

the sake of human needs. The word of God on the other hand is self-existing in his essence and its meaning is understood by means of these things. Who sayeth that the word of God is created, he is an infidel [*kāfir*] regarding God.... His speech being recited or written and retained in the heart, yet never dissociated from Him¹²⁸.

A translation of the Qur'ān can never be identical with the Qur'ān itself and so, as we saw above, it was (and still is) maintained that knowledge of Arabic was necessary for the Qur'ānic sciences. To all schools except the Hanafite one, however, the danger of written *translations* was that they might be recited in prayer, and for this reason they, as Tibawi puts it, "hedge their approval of translation for other purposes with reservations that sometimes amount to prohibition"¹²⁹. It is in this context that we find objections against translating the Qur'ān. In his *Ilḍjām al-ʿawāmm ʿan ʿilm al-kalām* al-Ḡhazālī argues against 'translations'¹³⁰ that the Divine Attributes (*ṣifāt Allāh*) would be wrongly understood. He maintains that it is not possible to translate Arabic into the Persian tongue "for some of the Arabic words have no equivalent in Persian words, and some have equivalents but the Persians are not accustomed to use them metaphorically as the Arabs do ..." ¹³¹. He considered the prohibition to render the Arabic wording (in particular that regarding the knowledge concerning God, i.e. the *ṣifāt*) to be a prescription (*ḥukm*) of the *sharʿa*, comparable to other prescriptions, such as the *ʿidda*¹³². But *tafsīr* (in particular if written interlinearly with the text of the Qur'ān implied no such danger. From the above it therefore appears that the book containing glosses and the translation which Yḥa contemplated writing in 1454 were in accordance with the authoritative Arabic works of *tafsīr* and that the book containing glosses was meant to be some sort of *tafsīr*. But did he ever carry out this intentions?

In the first part of the introduction to the *Breviario Sunni* Yḥa Gidelli explained (though this time to the Mudejar reader) why he had cooperated with Juan de Segovia (whom he does not mention by name) in the translation of the Qur'ān seven years earlier (see appendix 3). It is very obvious that he is referring to Juan de

¹²⁸ Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, p. 127.

¹²⁹ Tibawi, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 15.

¹³⁰ The word used by al-Ḡhazālī is *tafsīr*, defined as "tabdīl al-lafz bi-lughā ukhrā", i.e. render the word into another language.

¹³¹ Al-Ḡhazālī, *Ilḍjām*, p. 13 / translation Tibawi, *ut supra*, p. 13.

¹³² *Ilḍjām*, p. 15.

Segovia when he says that “some cardinals had said that we [apparently the Muslims] did not dare to bring the Qur’ān into the open (*plaçear*)”. It is striking, however, that he mentions cardinals, in the plural. Is he perhaps also referring to cardinal Juan de Villaviciosa, who appears to have written a treatise against the Qur’ān¹³³, to cardinal Juan de Torquemada¹³⁴, or to the aforementioned cardinal Juan de Cervantes, who had devoted himself to the study of Islam? Judging from the following passage in the introduction to the *Breviario Sunni* Yça Gidelli’s motives in interpreting (Sp. *ynterpretar*!) the Qur’ān had been twofold. First of all, he had obeyed “that lofty authority that commands us and says that someone who knows something about the Law [i.e. the Qur’ān], must teach [or show, *mostrar* can be interpreted both ways] all creatures the Qur’ān in such a language that they may understand it”. This argument is very similar to the ones he had already mentioned to Juan de Segovia in his afore-said letter, that of the universality of the task of conveying the Divine message to the whole world. It therefore seems likely that the “lofty authority” is God. Secondly, he also considered it God’s wish that certain ‘*infamias*’, probably unfair criticism or harsh accusations brought forward against the Qur’ān, would be refuted. The opponents whom he had in mind may have been preachers such as the famous Vicente Ferrer (1350-1419)¹³⁵ who was active in refuting Islam at the beginning of the 15th century, or the Franciscan preacher Alonso de Espina, who also preached in Segovia between 1455 and 1462, and who concluded his well-known anti-Islamic and anti-Jewish treatise *Fortalitium Fidei* in the same year as the *Breviario Sunni* (1462) was completed¹³⁶. As the campaigns of Alonso de Espina were above all directed against circumcision, it is likely that for this reason Yça Gidelli recommended a modification of the type

¹³³ Segovia, Archivo Catedralicio, MS B 330 (Aparato de la Historia de Segovia), f. 16r-v, letter of Gil Gonzalez Dávila to Diego de Colmenares, “E visto el tratado original que escribió el cardenal Juan de Villaviciosa, natural de Segovia, contra el Alcoran de Mahoma que está en Salamanca en el convento de San Agustín”.

¹³⁴ Cabanelas Rodríguez, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

¹³⁵ DHEE, s.v. Ferrer [art. J.M. de Garganta].

¹³⁶ DHEE, s.v. Espina [art. M. de Castro]. Cf. Diego Enríquez del Castillo, *Crónica del Rey Enrique el Cuarto*, vol. 3, p. 130: “Estando el rey [in Madrid, about 1462] ... vino allí el Maestro del Espina y fray Fernando de la Plaza con otros Religiosos a notificar al rey como en sus reynos avia grande heregia de algunos que judaizaban, guardando los ritos judaicos, y con nombre de christianos retaxaban sus hijos; suplicándole que mandase hacer inquisición sobre ello para que fuesen castigados. Sobre lo cual se hicieron algunos sermones”.

of circumcision in the *Breviario Sunni*. If problems arose, a convert could thus maintain that he had not been circumcised at all¹³⁷. An apologetic tone is perceptible in this passage, which will be dealt with below in chapter VI.2. There is a clear difference between the remark of the cardinals, who had said that the Mudejars should bring their Holy Scripture into the open, and the second category of people who had uttered these ‘*infamias*’. As we have seen, the letter to Juan de Segovia exudes friendliness rather than a polemic tone.

In the introduction to the *Breviario Sunni* Yça tells us that he made the translation of the Qur’ān with the *tafsīr* open before him, and Juan de Segovia also confirmed that he brought Arabic works of *tafsīr* with him to Aiton. Juan de Segovia states that Yça sometimes consulted books without vocalisation signs:

Moreover, I saw that they [scil. the Muslims] had many books without vocals, especially books by their doctors, which he called expounders of the Qur’an, and which he consulted when uncertain¹³⁸.

Since we know that Aljamiado texts were always vocalised, they must have been written in Arabic. Until now we have seen that Yça’s translation of the Qur’ān was almost certainly based on authoritative *tafsīr* works, but we have not yet solved the problem of the *Summarium* and the book containing glosses. At first sight there are very little prospects of going any further.

Juan de Segovia made the Latin translation of the Qur’ān after Yça Gidelli had returned to Spain. While working on the translation he tried to find someone else to correct it, and, expecting that he would indeed be able to do so, Juan left the Latin text uncorrected¹³⁹. His death in 1458 and the subsequent disappearance of the MS prevented the correction from ever being carried out. Although between 1456 and 1458 Juan de Segovia had at his disposal a trilingual Qur’ān, there is no evidence that he made any use of it to improve his writings on Islam. The treatise *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo sarracenorum*, on which he kept working

¹³⁷ N 1, f. 30v: “Y la alhetina (Ms alhetima), que es la çircunçisión es açuna en los varones y es amado abreuiarlo muy mucho mas en tierra de sujeçión por los ynconbenientes”.

¹³⁸ Vat. Lat. 2923, f. 194v, “Vidi preterea quod multos haberent [scil. the Muslims (sic MS); or should one read haberet, scil. Yça?] libros scriptos absque uocalibus et presertim doctores suos dicebat Alchurani expositores; et quos ubi putabat dubitare, inspiciebat”.

¹³⁹ Cabanelas Rodríguez, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

between 1453 and 1458 is described in the *Donatio* (which was made up in 1458) as follows:

About putting the sword of the Holy Spirit in the heart of the Saracens, recently written by John, containing 39 observations in which many things are collected about the Qur'ān which are according to the first above-mentioned translation¹⁴⁰.

By the “first translation” the Cluniac translation is meant; that work is described in the *Donatio* (no. 25) as “Alcuranus secundum primam translationem”. The only work which Juan de Segovia could have improved remained unchanged. It is very fortunate, therefore, that Juan de Segovia should cite from Yça Gidelli's translation in the prologue to the Qur'ān translation and in some letters written after 1455, while two small fragments are cited in the *Donatio*. This is of some importance, since these fragments enable us to investigate the nature of the text, and possibly even allow us to identify it, which is what we will attempt to do below.

Judging from the abundance of MSS containing Spanish works on *tafsīr* it seems to appear that this religious science flourished in Christian Spain. Many works in Aljamiado survive¹⁴¹. However, none of the Aljamiado *tafsīr* texts known so far is dated before 1455, which implies that we do not know whether Yça Gidelli's translation of the Qur'ān was based upon any existing Spanish commentaries.

The extant Aljamiado *tafsīr* works have two characteristics. First of all, they are nearly all written in the form of interlinear commentaries, i.e. the Arabic Qur'ān text and the commentary are nearly always found together, while the length of the pieces of commentary may vary considerably. Secondly, with one exception, as will be seen below, the MSS do not contain the complete Qur'ān text and its commentary. The reason for this is perhaps practical, some

¹⁴⁰ “De gladio diuini spiritus in corda mittendo sarracenorum, per Johannem nouiter editus, <continens> XXXIX consideraciones, in quibus de libro Alcurani multa allegantur secundum predictam translacionem primam...”, Hernández Montes, *Biblioteca de Juan de Segovia*, no. 26. In the *Donatio* yet another version of *De gladio* is mentioned in no. 108. The problems originating from the presence of two versions of the same work, discussed in Hernández Montes, *Biblioteca*, pp. 173-5, do not concern us here.

¹⁴¹ E. g. J 18, J 25; J 47; cf. Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, pp. 307-8; Vernet, “La exégesis tradicional en los coranes aljamiados”, *passim*.

passages being recited more often during the *ṣalāt* than others¹⁴². They had to be learned by heart and were probably explained to the faithful in the vernacular. For that reason they were included in manuals used by those involved in teaching. This explains why these pieces of Aljamiado *tafsīr* were taken up in the *maǧmūʿas* of religious texts which are found so frequently in Islamic Spanish literature. Fragmentary and short as they were, some of the extant Aljamiado commentaries can have been little more than continuous glosses to help the scholar to follow the original¹⁴³. Others are evidence of scholarly study of the Qurʾān, and they are a testimony of the circulation of Arabic *tafsīr* works (now lost) among the Mudejars and Moriscos¹⁴⁴.

One of the *sūras* which was often recited in prayer is *sūra* 79. Six Spanish commentaries on this *sūra* were studied and compared by López-Morillas¹⁴⁵. Only one of the MSS under scrutiny, Toledo B.P. 235 (hereafter T 235), appears to include a translation of this *sūra*. The translation includes short explanations inserted into the text which are distinguished from the translation by a different colour (until f. 106), or vertical slashes (in the rest of the MS). In order to give an impression of the style of this translation, I will cite the beginning of *sūra* 12. It reads as follows¹⁴⁶:

El açora de Yuçuf es çiento y onze aleas. En el nombre de Allah piadoso de piedad. alif lem ra¹⁴⁷. Estas son aleas del alcoran claro y nos lo deballemos el alcoran en lengua @rabiya¹⁴⁸ porque entendais lo que ay en el y creais. Nos lo recontamos sobre ti ye Muhammed el mas fermoso de los recontamientos con lo que rebelamos a ti este alcoran, aunque eras de antes de su deballamiento //f. 128v// de los negligentes. Dixo yuçuf a su padre: ye padre yo e visto en mi sueño doze¹⁴⁹ estrellas y el sol y la luna a mi açaxdados. Dixo: ye hijo, no recuentes tu sueño sobre tus hermanos que ymbidiaran a ti con ymbidia que el axeyttan es a la persona enemigo claro, y asi te eslitara para el annubua tu señor, y te hara a saber de la

¹⁴² The passages used for recitation are according are mentioned by Saavedra (sub Saa 1). It is clear, however, that his assessment needs to be modified, as appears from López-Morillas, *The Qurʾān*, pp. 14-5; see also Longas, *Vida religiosa*, p. 31 ff.

¹⁴³ Cf. Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, p. 277.

¹⁴⁴ See for example López-Morillas, "El manuscrito J 18 y sus comentarios exegeticos: Corán 43: 65".

¹⁴⁵ *The Qurʾān in Sixteenth-Century Spain*.

¹⁴⁶ T 235, f. 128r. Bold passages are marked off by slashes in the MS.

¹⁴⁷ The so-called mysterious letters.

¹⁴⁸ See on the @ chapter IV.5.1., sub S 3.

¹⁴⁹ Sic, this should be eleven, *Doze* is probably a copy error of a scribe who had before him a MS which read eleven as a Latin numeral (XI).

declaración de los sueños y cumplira de su gracia sobre ti y sobre los de ya@cob y asi como la cumplio sobre tus padres de antes, ybrahim y yçhac, que tu señor es sabidor çiente. Ya hubo en Yuçuf y sus hermanos exemplo para quien demande por ello. Y dixeron a Yuçuf y su hermano **Bunjamin** son mas amados a nuestro padre que nosotros y nosotros somos compaña y este nuestro padre está en yerro claro. Matad a Yuçuf o lançadlo en otra tierra y se adobara vuestro estado en poder de vuestro padre y serais despues del gentes apurados.

The authors of the other five MSS under scrutiny in López-Morillas' study do not even attempt to translate, they merely paraphrase the Qur'ān text, incorporating a commentary in these paraphrases. In these MSS no distinction is made between words of the Qur'ān and the paraphrases, and Van Koningsveld therefore correctly argues that these interlinear Spanish texts cannot be called translations, but are in fact *tafsīr*¹⁵⁰.

As far as can be seen from the descriptions in the catalogues and the secondary studies available to me, T 235 is the only text with these characteristics, in addition to the fact that it is the only MS containing a *complete* Qur'ān text. In view of what we know of the nature of Yça Gidelli's translation (a literal, i.e. *de verbo ad verbum* translation of the complete Qur'ān), the question arises whether T 235 may include the lost translation of Yça Gidelli. The question as such was not raised by López-Morillas, who concluded:

Even setting T 235 aside, we are left with five Aljamiado MSS which all interpret the Qur'ān in the same way and with practically the same words, yet do not follow consistently any of the major Arabic commentaries. The inescapable conclusion is that they derive from a common model now lost to us, a translation of the Qur'ān whose author had consulted a variety of Arabic *tafsīrs*, digested and summarized them, and incorporated into this version what he considered to be the most reasonable and useful opinions¹⁵¹.

Bearing in mind what was said above, this conclusion appears not to be warranted by the sources. Let us examine for example *sūra* 79: 3, which reads: *wa 'l-sābiḥāti sabḥan*, "by those that swim serenely". This is paraphrased by four Aljamiado texts as "i por los basyellos ke andan por la mar" (one MS omits this verse). Only T 235 reads "y por los andantes andamiento y son los vaxillos que andan por el mar". In this case the *āya* is translated and

¹⁵⁰ Van Koningsveld, "Review", *passim*.

¹⁵¹ López-Morillas, *The Qur'ān*, p. 54.

subsequently explained. The commentary is separated by clear vertical lines from the translation. In spite of this, López-Morillas concludes about this verse that “all the Spanish *translations* [my italics] follow al-Qurṭubī’s *tafsīr*” [which makes it clear that the *andantes* are ships that swim in the sea]¹⁵². The criterion of López-Morillas’ comparison is not the translation, but the *tafsīr*, which in this case is indeed the same in all texts, including T 235. But only T 235 offers the translation of this *āya*, namely the words ‘*por los andantes andantamiento*’. The other texts present a commentary in the form of an interlinear paraphrase, which implies that the aforesaid general conclusion, drawn on the basis of an examination of sixteen verses of this *sūra*, is valid for Spanish *tafsīr*, but not for the translation, which is presented by one MS only: T 235.

López-Morillas also argues that the commentary contained in T 235 is not dependent on any of the other texts¹⁵³. Closer examination, however, casts some doubt on this as well. The first *āya*, for example, reads: “*wa ’l-nāzi’āti gharqan*”, “by those that pluck out vehemently”. All MSS, including T 235, comment: “E juro Allah por las estrellas ke se parten del sallyent e se funden en el ponyent”. From this it can be concluded that T 235 is in fact not entirely independent of the other texts¹⁵⁴. López-Morillas adduces convincing proof, however, that T 235 could not have been copied from one of the other five versions¹⁵⁵. On the basis of linguistic data she argues that T 235 is the most recent text, and dates its immediate *Vorlage* to 1580-1590¹⁵⁶. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that the original translation was much older, and that its linguistic features were modernized, a phenomenon which we will also notice in the reception of the *Breviario Sunni*.

Let us therefore examine T 235 more closely. López-Morillas devoted a detailed article to this very interesting MS¹⁵⁷ and for that reason I will limit myself to some additional observations. It is mentioned in Saavedra’s *Índice* (no. 56), and described in Esteve Barba’s catalogue. One of the most interesting features of the script, a late 16th-century hand, is the indication of the Arabic

¹⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 51.

¹⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 54.

¹⁵⁴ It is obvious that the scribe of T 235 itself or of one of its *Vorlagen* in this case erroneously left out the translation of this *āya*.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 44-5.

¹⁵⁷ “‘Trilingual’ marginal notes in a Morisco manuscript from Toledo”.

letter °*ayn* by an oval slash around the letter a: @. This feature will be discussed below.

The MS contains four colophons, on f. 81v-82r, f. 167r, f. 258r and f. 247v, dated 2 May 1606, 31 May 1606, 5 June 1606 and 11 July 1606. On each of these dates a quarter of the text was completed¹⁵⁸. It appears that it took the scribe three months to complete the MS, which comprises 347 folios. We do not know where the MS was copied, for the colophons do not tell us anything about that. There may, however, be some external evidence of its origin and vicissitudes. First of all, the MS is dated in the same way as other late 16th-century Morisco MSS, namely according to the Islamic and Christian months, but mentioning only the Christian year (see Chapter VI.1.). It was therefore probably copied in Spain. Secondly, it was copied by the same scribe who also copied T 232, a Spanish translation in Latin script of *Kitāb al-tafrī fī 'l-fiqh* by Ibn al-Djallāb al-Baṣrī (died between 306/918-398/1007)¹⁵⁹, as appears from close comparison of the script. According to the colophon on f. 286v this MS was completed in 1607. It circulated in Villafeliche (Aragon), as will be seen below (chapter IV.5.1. sub S 3). Colophon I of T 235 informs us that the scribe borrowed a MS of this text from another person, and that he wished to return it as soon as possible¹⁶⁰:

Aqui se acaba el primer quarto del alcoran / onrrado n[o] ay meter en ello
duda porke / esta eskrito en letra de kristyanos/ que el que lo sako lo copio
de otro alcoran que / estaba en su propya lengwa de arabigo i de/clarado
palabra por palabra al bocablo / i kopyo solamente el rromanse del para /
su estudio que tenia en el arabigo y por quanto / el lo tenia prestado de una
onrrada / gente para copiarlo en tiemp[o] asignado y / era corto y porque
si quisiese Allah darle graçia de cumplir su promesa de bol/berselo en dicha
asignasyon por tanto lo escribio en letra de cristianos. pero haze ver/dad el
escribano que esta rrectamente / kopyado komo lo hallo i ke el sabe la letra
de / los krist[ya]nos i de los muslimes i par/te de arabigo i ke se atrebyo
para pu[xar] kabo delante en su estudio komo esta / dicho por la brebedad
ke tenia konsignada / kon kyen se lo presto i su letra la de los cristianos era
la que mas se atrebio pa [sic] / dicha ocasion rruega y suplica que por estar
en dicha letra no lo tengan en menos de lo kes antes en mucho por/que pues
esta asi declarado esta mas a vista de los muçlimes que saben leer el

¹⁵⁸ López-Morillas, “‘Trilingual’ marginal notes”, p. 499 ff.

¹⁵⁹ See on him: *GAL* 1, 177; S 1, p. 301.

¹⁶⁰ T 235, f. 81v-82r, apud: López-Morillas, “‘Trilingual’ marginal notes”, p. 499. I have not changed the transcription.

cristiano y no la letra de los muçlimes porque es cierto que dixo el annabi Muḥammad, šalla Allah ʿalayhi wa sallam, ke la mejor / lengwa era la ke se entendia esto /se entyende aunke siempre/ confieso que su perfection es la del arabigo ...

From this it appears that the scribe studied Arabic and intended to use the text for that purpose. He qualified its *Vorlage* as “another Quʾrān which was in its own Arabic tongue and explained word for word”. He was therefore conscious of the fact that he did not violate one of the tenets of his faith: in his opinion he was copying a piece of *tafsīr*.¹⁶¹ Pressed for time he left out the Arabic text which was to be found in his underlying text, and copied it in Latin script, which had the advantage that Moriscos who did not master the Arabic script would also be able to read it. A *Ḥadīth* (as yet unidentified) to the effect that the best language is that which is understood is apparently cited to justify the use of this script.

Now that we have seen that T 235 is in fact the only extant Spanish translation of the Qurʾān, let us once more turn to the lost MS of Juan de Segovia. We know from the preface to the translation of the Qurʾān that the Spanish text and the Arabic text were written in parallel columns¹⁶². According to Juan de Segovia the translation had the following character:

It conforms to the Arabic language and text apart from the glosses, slashes separating the glosses from the translated text, and also explanations which have been inserted into the text. Moreover, he [sc. Yça] added several explanations, very short indeed and not many, in the margins, as a commentary on certain words¹⁶³.

As we said before, we do in fact know some passages of the Latin text, for Juan de Segovia quotes them in the prologue to the translation and in some of his letters. The *incipit* and *explicit* are mentioned in the *Donatio*. We should also remember that Yça Gidelli took a copy of the Spanish translation back with him to Spain. Can we identify T 235 as that very text? The first *āyas*

¹⁶¹ Cf. López-Morillas, *The Qurʾān*, p. 13.

¹⁶² “In scriptura autem per eum facta differentia hec fuit, ut ydeoma arabicum ad unam columnam in papiro maioris forme, XXXIII sistemis, totque in alia minoris [forme] translationem scripsit”, Vat. Lat. 2923, f. 190v.

¹⁶³ Vat. Lat. 2923, f. 190r: “arabico ydeomati et textui conformem, absque glosis, limitacionibus, exposicionibus quoque insertis textui. Sed et quasdam breves certe admodum rarasque in marginibus addidit pro quorundam vocabulorum annotatione”.

quoted by Juan de Segovia were taken from *sūra* 8 (*sūrat al-anfāl*), *āyas* 65 and 67. These verses read as follows:

Iam ecce Propheta impone credentibus super mactancia guerre¹⁶⁴, et si fuerint XX sufferentes vincetis CC et si fuerint de vobis mille, vincent duo millia, et deus cum sufferentibus¹⁶⁵.

The same passage in T 235 reads:

ye annabi agara a los creyentes sobrel pelear y son de vosotros veinte sufrientes vençeran a doçientos ... y si seran de vosotros mil vençeran a dos mil con liçencia de Allah y Allah es con los sufrientes¹⁶⁶.

The second passage in Vat. Lat. 2923 is taken from S 9: 29 and reads: "Occidete ergo illos qui non credunt in Deo et in die postremo", while T 235, f. 106r, reads in this case: "matad adaquellos que no creen con Allah y con el día del judiçio".

Vat. Lat. 2923, f. 187r (S. 58: 21) reads: "scripsit deus, vince-mos ego et nuncius meus", and T 235, f. 312r-v: "Ordeno allah <y juzgo y dixo> vençeremos nosotros y mis mensageros¹⁶⁷". The *incipit* and *explicit* of the Qur'an translation are mentioned in the *Donatio*:

Incipit (S. 2: 4): "et illis qui credunt¹⁶⁸ cum eo quod misi tibi", T 235: "y aquellos que creen con lo ke fue deballado a tu". *Explicit* (S. 112: 3): "non genuit non fuit genitus", T 235, f. 347v: "No engendra, no fue engendrado". Finally, in a letter to an unknown

¹⁶⁴ The meaning of the corresponding Arabic text is: "O Prophet, order the faithful to make war". "Super mactancia guerre" is undoubtedly what the MS reads. The words possibly mean: "to kill, i.e. to (make) war". If so, *mactancia* is the ablative singular of a noun, and *guerre* an explanation of this noun in Romance.

¹⁶⁵ Vat. Lat. 2923, f. 187r. This passage is certainly not a quotation of the Clunian translation, as preserved in the Bibliander edition of 1543) which reads as follows: "Tu nuncie, me tui tuorumque factorum adiutore, tuis pugnam persuade. Tui namque viginti sustinentes et indurantes ducentos alios superabunt: et centum vestri, caeterorum mille, qui sunt indiscreti. Deus autem hoc primo propter vestram debilitatem faciens, nunc imminuit. Si centum enim fueritis, eorum ducentos vincetis, et vos mille, caeterorum duo millia Deo praeside indurantium sustentamine" (= S. 8: 65-67; *Muchumetis saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrinae, ipseque alcoran*, p. 62. In this edition the *sūra* in question is "Azoara XVIII").

¹⁶⁶ T 235, f. 103r.

¹⁶⁷ The Qur'an reads: "kataba Allāh lā 'ghlibannā anā wa-rusulī". From this it appears that the plural "mis mensajeros" (my messengers) is the correct translation, while the Latin singular "nuncius meus" is an obvious error of Juan de Segovia.

¹⁶⁸ MS cedunt.

friend, Juan de Segovia quotes the words “Deum fore super eis repententem”¹⁶⁹. I have not been able to identify these words.

The most striking similarities can be found in *sūra* 8. The Latin preposition *super* may have been derived from Spanish *sobre* (a calque of the Arabic preposition °*alā*), and the Latin word *sufferentes* is a striking parallel of the Spanish word *sufrientes*. Besides, the order and the choice of words strongly indicate that the Latin quotations were translated from a Spanish text very much resembling T 235. It therefore seems likely that T 235 is in fact to be identified as the Spanish translation of Yça Gidelli. The other examples confirm this tentative identification. As the fragment from the Yūsuf *sūra* shows, T 235 answers Juan de Segovia’s description of the Spanish translation of the Qur’ān in every respect¹⁷⁰.

A second tentative conclusion can be drawn. In addition to a literal translation of the Qur’ān T 235 also includes brief comments and explanations, which are marked off from the translation itself. We have seen above that Yça contemplated writing a “book containing glosses” in 1454 and this characteristic of T 235 corresponds strikingly to this description. If this identification is correct, the book containing glosses must have been a text other than the *Summarium psalmorum omnium*, one of the texts which Yça gave to Juan de Segovia in 1455 upon his arrival in Aiton, and which was later included in the MS of the trilingual translation of the Qur’ān. The problem of the identity of this *Summarium* is very complicated. As we have seen above, there are several extant Spanish texts which more or less answer the description of a *summarium psalmorum omnium*, but none of these identifications is entirely satisfactory, and it therefore remains most likely that the *Summarium* was a piece of *tafsīr*, as I posited at the beginning of this section. It seems very probable that there is a connection between this unknown piece of *tafsīr* (which may well have lived on in Islamic Spanish works of *tafsīr*) and the glosses inserted in T 235, but as long as the identity of the *Summarium* is not solved, the nature of this connection remains a matter of speculation.

¹⁶⁹ Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Juan de Segovia*, p. 340 (= appendix 10).

¹⁷⁰ T 235, f. 128 r.

IV.5. THE *BREVIARIO SUNNI* (1462)IV.5.1. *The extant MSS*

N 1 (Madrid, B.N. 2076)

N 1 is written in Spanish with Latin characters¹⁷¹. The MS begins with 12 blank and unnumbered folios. Then follows the *Breviario Sunni* (f. Ir-IVv and 1r-68r) described on f. Ir as “Brebiario çuñi o ceremoniario de la seta de Mahoma para conosçer y qualificar las çeremonias de moros y compuesto por Yça Jedih moro de Segouia año de 1462”.

On f. Iir an explanatory gloss on the word *çuni* is found in the left-hand margin, reading: *sunna* [in Arabic script], *sunna, vel cum articulo Al sunna idem quod Lex v. Golium col. 1221*, and below this gloss a remark is found written in another handwriting, *Letra de Dor. Martin Vazquez Siruela, Racionero de la Santa Iglesia de Seuilla; cuio fue este libro*, followed by initials, probably those of a librarian of the Biblioteca Nacional. According to Cabanelas Rodríguez Martín Vázquez Siruela, who copied part of Juan de Segovia’s *De gladio divini spiritus mittendo in corda sarracenorum*, was a friend of Nicolas Antonio. Antonio refers to the work in his well-known *Bibliotheca hispana vetus*¹⁷². The handwriting of the glosses does not differ very much from that of the text itself. Since Antonio lived in the second half of the 17th century, however, and our MS was written shortly after the middle of the 16th century¹⁷³, the remark identifying the hand refers to the explanatory gloss alone rather than to the handwriting of the MS as a whole (this is confirmed by the reference to Jacobus Golius’ *Lexicon Arabicum*, first published in 1653).

On f. 68v-69v there follows, in the handwriting of the main text, an “*addiçion al capitulo 24 de arriba sacado del arabigo. Ynter-*

¹⁷¹ Olim G 138. Descriptions: Saa 2; *Inventario general*, no. 2076.

¹⁷² See Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Juan de Segovia*, p. 97.

¹⁷³ According to the *Inventario* the MS dates from the 16th century. Three different watermarks can be found in this MS, all of them a Latin cross within a shield, accompanied by initials (resp. AI, IRB and GM). Briquet’s specimens (nos. 5,677-5,702) range from 1551 (5,698) to 1600 (nos. 5,690 and 5,692). Cross watermark with initials IA (found in f. 1-70) resembles no. 5,693: (Madrid) 1566; cross with initials IRB is not found in any of the watermark collections; cross with initials GM (f. 80-97) resembles no. 5,691 (1564). This watermark was taken from Lichačew’s collection. The majority of the watermarks presented by Heawood, *Watermarks*, are of a much smaller size. Most resemblance to no. 968 (Seville, 1571).

pretación de vn capitulo de vn libro aravigo en que se contienen las çeremonias de moros"¹⁷⁴. This addition is a translation of chapter 20 of the *Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī¹⁷⁵. From this it can be concluded that the person who made the transcript mastered Arabic. After a number of blank pages (f. 70-79) a treatise follows called "Las ceremonias que tienen los moros sacadas del alcoran de Mahoma y de otras partes y otros Ritos que entre los moros se han introduzido por costumbre que tambien los guardan por ceremonias", which, as we have seen above, was written by an official of the Inquisition, Dr. Zárate¹⁷⁶. The handwriting in this part differs from the handwriting of the preceding treatise. This treatise seems to be an autograph, which can be dated on internal grounds: on f. 96r we read that the Ramadan begins on 15 February 1569 "this year" and on 4 February 1570 the next year¹⁷⁷. The MS finishes with 33 blank folios.

From an analysis of the quires it appears that on f. 80, the beginning of Zárate's treatise, a new quire begins. The new quire is made of another sort of paper. Although it is possible that the quires of different treatises were bound together much later, this does not seem likely, because of the white folios between them, and because watermarks and paper seem to be of roughly the same date. In conclusion it seems probable that the entire MS was written shortly after the middle of the 16th century. The text was probably used by the Christian authorities as a means to find out which customs of the Moriscos were related to Islam.

N 2 (Madrid B.N. 6016 (olim Q 193)(description: Saa 3; *Inventario general*)

¹⁷⁴ In the left hand margin of f. 20r we read: "ay abajo otro capitulo de lo mismo folio 68 y 69".

¹⁷⁵ In the left hand margin of f. 20r we read: "Aqui ay otro capitulo en el libro arabigo".

¹⁷⁶ ff. 80r-91r and 94r-97v. The name Zárate is mentioned on f. 1 r; Longás, *Vida religiosa de los Moriscos*, made use of this text to describe the religious life of the Moriscos, see *ibidem*, p. 287, note 2.

¹⁷⁷ The second figure is read in the MS as 1560, probably a scribal error. This calculation does not correspond with the dates given in the *Wüstenfeld-Mahler'sche Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, according to which the Ramadan began on 17 February in 1569 and on 7 February in 1570.

This MS includes some additional material and dates from the second half of the 16th century or even the beginning of the 17th century¹⁷⁸.

S 3 (R.A.H. S 3, Saa 77)

An earlier shelfmark, probably of the B.N. Madrid, was Cc 186. This MS, written in Spanish with Latin characters, presents no watermarks, which almost certainly implies that they were cut off, as sometimes happens in particular with MSS in 4°. The handwriting resembles N 2 and it probably dates from the same period.

The MS lacks the preface, except for some lines of the end: "...me de gracia y dias para que lo acabe con otras buenas obras que a su sancto serbicio haga con en dreçamiento de gloria perdurable amen" (f. 4r). The folios containing the preface were apparently torn from the MS.

Gayangos notes on an inserted piece of paper: "comprado a Londres à 27 de agosto de 1837 en venta pública por £ 3. Fué de Don Jose Antonio Conde y antes de la Biblioteca Nacional de la que falta desde el año 1816". Gayangos states that an inserted 'pliego' with the missing part of the preface is also written by Conde. On this sheet Conde notes at the end:

Nota al fin.... Este libro parece se tomó y allá yo ser [read: se alló ser?] de Juan Lopez, vecino de Villafeliche de los nuevos convertidos del reyno de Aragon y confesó ser este del propio, y se halló en su poder cosido al pie y a las espaldas del juvon.

From the wording 'confession' it seems that this was originally a note written by a Christian official, perhaps an inquisitor. The rest of the sheets are filled with a copy of the preface, which was probably copied from a version of the preface which is identical, except for some isolated words and copy errors, to N 1. As it is likely that Conde knew N 1 (B.N. MS 2076), he probably copied this version. We may wonder, however, whether S 3 was the MS

¹⁷⁸ Watermark: anchor. Heawood, *Watermarks*, presents several anchor watermarks dated between 1609 and 1639. Briquet shows several anchor watermarks as well, but none accompanied by a cloverleaf, as can be found below the watermark in our MS. Watermarks resembling our's began to appear towards the end of the 16th century (Briquet, nos. 554-572). The earliest one presented by Briquet ("la tige et les deux bras de l'ancre sont dessinés par un simple trait") appears in 1563. Valls i Subirà presents no such watermarks. Mosin no. 1996 (1613) resembles our watermark, which appears to belong to a minority showing no contra-watermark. Watermarks in Mosin resembling our watermark: no. 1,985 (1586) and 1,588 (1603).

which was found on the Morisco Juan López. What follows might partly answer that question.

A striking feature of the script is the a with slur (@), used for an *‘ayn*, followed by a. This same feature is also found in two MSS (232 and 235) from the Biblioteca Pública in Toledo. As was explained above, (Chapter IV.4.) these MSS were copied by the same scribe.

T 232, a Spanish translation of the *Kitāb al-tafrīṣ fi ‘l-fiqh* by Ibn al-Djallāb al-Baṣrī was completed in August / *Rabī‘ al-ākhir* 1607, as appears from the colophon (in Arabic) on f. 286 r, which unfortunately does not mention the place where the MS was copied. On f. Xr a birth note is found about a son born on 14 May 1608, who was baptized Juan Miguel by a certain Nicolas Ximeno, “*vezino de Villafeliche*”. This took place after the *fada* rite had been held during which he had been given the name Yahye. This demonstrates that this MS circulated in Aragon, where the paleographic feature of the @ was apparently in use. It is well known that the *Breviario Sunni* was widely read there. This appears not only from the fact that two MSS, J 1 and J 60, were found in Almonacid and the evidence to be presented in the following chapter, but also from Inquisition records which tell us that Melchior de Vera, a Morisco from Torellas (Aragon), taught from the ‘*Çum segoviano*’. It seems clear that this work is the *Breviario Sunni*¹⁷⁹. From the same source it appears that at the end of the 16th century some Aragonese Moriscos from Villafeliche taught their fellow Moriscos in Segovia how to perform Muslim ‘ceremonies’, and later even sent them a book called ‘*Muça*’, which was brought from Villafeliche by individuals who were able to teach the Moriscos of Segovia even more (probably with the help of the book in question). If *Muça* is a reading error for *Çuma* [viz. *segoviana*] this implies that Aragonese Moriscos taught the *Breviario Sunni* in its ‘hometown’¹⁸⁰. In conclusion, it seems quite likely that the evi-

¹⁷⁹ A.H.N. Inquisición, Libro 990, f. 327 no. 99 (auto da fe Zaragoza, 1604) cf. Fournel Guérin, “Le livre et la civilisation écrite”, p. 251. That the *Breviario Sunni* was strongly identified with the city of Segovia also appears from a remark in J 12: f. 192-232 of this MS contain chapters on prayer, the *zakāt* and fasting. These chapters are apparently similar to the *Breviario Sunni*, for on f. 232 one reads: “Y desta manera lo hallamos también en el libro sogubiano [sic]”.

¹⁸⁰ A.H.N. Inquisición Libro 990, f. 5, f. 16r-v, f. 66v-57r, f. 196v, cf. Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, p. 229. Fournel Guérin, “Le livre et la civilisation écrite”, p. 251, erroneously assumes that the title of the book in question was *Muça y personas*.

dence about the Morisco Juan López is reliable and that S 3 indeed circulated in Villafeliche in Aragon.

J 1

This is the only extant MS of the *Breviario Sunni* written in Aljamiado. It is part of the collection of MSS found in the Aragonese village Almonacid de la Sierra. It was thus described in the catalogue of Ribera and Asín. The MS can be dated between 1580 and 1590¹⁸¹.

J 60

Maximiliano Alarcón dates the paper and the handwriting of this MS in of the period 1625-75 (sic!)¹⁸². The watermarks presented in modern studies do not contradict that dating, but it may be doubted whether the MS could possibly date from after 1612¹⁸³. It was in the possession of Francisco Zapater y Gómez, as appears from a note on the fly-leaf. Zapater was a correspondent of the Real Academia de la Historia in Zaragoza, and the first to inform

¹⁸¹ Watermark: letters A-G and hand accompanied by initials AB. The former is very similar to Briquet no. 9,245 (Toulouse 1581), and Lichačew, no. 4,009 (Nevers 1590). The hand watermark is very similar to Briquet 11,055 (1579). The chainlines and laid-lines correspond as well, only the cuff of the watermark in our MS is somewhat smaller. Briquet found this watermark in several sizes in Perigueux (1579-1589), Lectoure (1579-1590), Lucq, Navarreinx (1580-1599), Bordeaux, Angoulême, Toulouse, Lac de Dieu and Pons (all of them later than 1580).

¹⁸² Alarcón dated the MS as follows: "Las marcas que lleva el papel no aparecen en documentos anteriores al último tercio del siglo XVI, según puede comprobarse en la colección de filigranas formada por el Secretario del Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sr. Campillo; la letra es del periodo comprendido entre los años 1625 á 1675".

¹⁸³ Watermark: Latin cross within a shield, below the shield initials CE (?) are found. The watermark was very common, and in Heawood, *Watermarks*, specimens with all sorts of initials can be found (cf. nos. 946-961, o.a. initials BLAC, T, EM, BF etc.). The watermark with initial CE dates from 1618. Valls i Subirà presents this watermark in *History*, 2 (p. 131, nos. 100 and 101, dating from 1600), and in *History*, vol. 3 (p. 6, 13-19, 1602-1703, p. 59, nos. 2-6: 1603, 1615). Commenting upon Briquet (nos. 5,677-5,704), Valls remarks: "Briquet tells us, that paper with this watermark could have originated in France or Genoa, according to the type of letters that sometimes accompany the watermark. This raises our suspicions, however. Of the twentyfive he presents (watermarks 5,677 through 5,704) two are from Spain (not specifying exactly where) and four are found in Perpignan, Tolosa de Langue d'Oc and Carcassona, whose sphere of influence included the Crown of Aragon. Watermarks of this type found in Briquet range from 1565 through 1595. Attention should be paid to those dates for those found in Spain date from much earlier times than those cited by Briquet. We might therefore assume, that some Spanish mill was already making paper with this watermark. This is of course no more than a supposition". The watermarks in Vall's *History*, however, hardly resemble our watermark.

the learned world of the discovery of ‘hundreds’ of MSS in Almonacid¹⁸⁴. Although the MS was probably a later addition to the ‘Junta’ collection, it may nevertheless have probably originally been part of the discovery of Almonacid¹⁸⁵. Besides the *Breviario Sunni* it also contains some other texts¹⁸⁶.

Furthermore, we find fragments of the *Breviario Sunni* in the following Islamic Spanish MSS. From these MSS it appears that parts of the *Breviario Sunni* circulated independently among the Moriscos.

Madrid B.N. 5301 (Saa 41). This MS is a *madjmuʿa* of religious texts which includes the first chapter of the *Breviario Sunni* (“*de los principales mandamientos*”), f. 9v-13v. The MS dates from the 16th century.

Madrid, B.N. 5223 (Saa 36) (see also below, Chapter VI, the list of dated MSS), contains on f. 191v a *duʿāʾ* described as follows: “esta rrogarʿa fuʿe sakado del libʿro sogobiʿano”. This is the invocation which is to be said when getting up in the morning¹⁸⁷

Other MSS

Madrid, B.N. 1585

This is a 19th-century copy of the *Breviario Sunni* (see the *Inventario general*). The preface is missing. This is probably the text which Gayangos prepared as the basis for his edition¹⁸⁸.

Saa 1

A MS in the Biblioteca Nacional with shelfmark D 113 is described by Saavedra as follows:

El alcorán abreviado y traducido en castellano. Año 1462. Según el catálogo de mss. de Iriarte, existía este codice, escrita en caracteres latinos, junto con una copia del Breviario çunni, con el nombre de D. Yça

¹⁸⁴ See “Noticias” in: *BRAH* V (1884), p. 65: “Nuestro correspondiente en Zaragoza, D. Francisco Zapater y Gómez, ha dado noticia del feliz hallazgo de centenares de códices ...”

¹⁸⁵ As Codera tells in his “Informe”, p. 268, several individuals acquired MSS from the discovery of Almonacid.

¹⁸⁶ See the description in R.A.

¹⁸⁷ Edition, p. 400. I owe this reference to professor Harvey.

¹⁸⁸ See: *Inventario*.

Sedih ...

According to a handwritten remark in the the copy of Saavedra's *Índice* in the Biblioteca Nacional this MS is no longer extant, but we may assume that Iriarte in fact described the present MS N 1, which, as we have seen, contains both a copy of the *Breviario Sunni* and a sort of study of the Qur'ān.

IV.5.2. *The relationships between the MSS*

From the preceding survey it would appear that the earliest MS of the *Breviario Sunni* is N 1, which is also the 'best' MS of this text, in spite of the fact that it was copied by a Christian, who apparently made no effort to transcribe the small Arabic phrases and terms contained in it correctly. Perhaps he was of Morisco extraction: it is well known that the Inquisition made use of Morisco informants. N 1 or its *Vorlage* was transcribed from an Aljamiado version¹⁸⁹.

J 1 was copied by a Morisco scribe and the Arabic terms and phrases were transmitted in a much better state. In spite of this the reading of this MS cannot be relied upon: sometimes words or complete phrases are missing and many words are corrupt. Yet it is clear that N 1 and J 1 had a common *Vorlage*: a number of manifest copy errors, found in both MSS, are absent from the other three MSS¹⁹⁰.

The other three are also based upon a common *Vorlage*, as will be seen below. The relationships between the MSS are as follows: N 1 and J 1 present the most original form of the *Breviario Sunni*, although both were copied in the second half of the 16th century. Both were copied quite carelessly, whereas the Christian (?) scribe of N 1 did not always understand what he was copying. As can be seen from Karp's study¹⁹¹, the scribe of J 1 and his predecessors respected the orthography of the text. This also holds true for the scribe of N 1, although there are indications that he sometimes substituted medieval Spanish words by more modern ones.

It is clear that at some stage the entire text of the *Breviario Sunni* was fundamentally changed. The text was linguistically modernized

¹⁸⁹ f. 23v, "comonidades" instead of "comunidades"; f. 15r "jodios" instead of "judios" and see the corrupt readings of this MS in appendices 2 and 3, which clearly indicate that the copyist was sometimes unable to decipher his copy.

¹⁹⁰ See appendices 3 and 4.

¹⁹¹ Karp, *A study*, p. 125.

and all sorts of archaic words were removed, compare for example N 1, f. 13v, “en todo lo susodicho”, and S 3 f. 40r, “por las demas cosas sobredichas”¹⁹², in which the medieval word “susodicho” is replaced by modern *sobredicho*. As will be seen below, this also led to a modification of contents. The relationship between the MSS appears very clearly from a comparison of the following *du‘ā*’, which, in N 1 and J 1, is a literal translation of a *du‘ā*’ in the *Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, whereas the reading of the other three may be characterized as an adaptation from which the linguistic influence of the Arabic original was removed and to which new elements were added. The *du‘ā*’ is to be found in chapter 21 of the *Risāla*, *bāb fi ‘l-ṣalāt ‘alā ‘l-djānā’iz wa‘l-du‘ā’ lil-mayyit*, a chapter dealing with funeral rites¹⁹³. Both *du‘ā*’s found in the *Risāla* were translated by Yça into Spanish, a clear indication that such *du‘ā*’s were very likely to be recited in Spanish in practice as well¹⁹⁴. The *du‘ā*’ under scrutiny was to be said after the first one (“Esto as de deçir tres vezes y en fin de cada vez ‘allahu aquebar’, que será dichas quatro vezes y asi dichas todas quatro dirás...”).

N 1, f. 20v-21r, J 1, f. 73v-74r: “Señor Alla, perdona <a> nuestros biuos y {a} nuestros muertos, y a los presentes y ausentes, grandes y menores, machos¹⁹⁵ y fembras, que tu sabes nuestros fines y asentamientos, y a nuestros padres y antepasados de los creyentes, moros y moras, creyentes y creyentas, biuos y muertos, señor alla, a quien dieres días de vida de nos sea en la creyençia firme, y a quien dieres fin, amatalo en la creyençia, y danos buena ventura en <tu> encontramiento¹⁹⁶ y buena fin a la muerte y sea nuestro descanso {en} consolaçion de nuestras... ¹⁹⁷”.

S 3, f. 66v-67r, reads: “Señor allah. Perdona nuestros bibos y nuestros muertos, a los presentes y ausentes, grandes y pequeños,

¹⁹² Edition, p. 279, reads “sobredichas” as well.

¹⁹³ Arabic text, pp. 110, 112 / translation, pp. 111, 113.

¹⁹⁴ As will be seen in Chapter VI this is in accordance with the tenets of the Malikite *madhhab* (and probably the other schools as well): it was permissible to pray to God by way of a *du‘ā*’ in every language.

¹⁹⁵ J 1 reads *maskulos*, which is the older form.

¹⁹⁶ J 1 en enkont’rami’ento. The Arabic reads: *bi-liqā’ika*. The reading of N 1 is therefore to be preferred.

¹⁹⁷ J 1 animas.

hombres y mugeres, que tu sabes nuestros fines. Tenemos esperanza en que tu piedad, pues da passada de nuestras yerras. Señor alla, a quien a fecho [bien] creçele en bondad y si es haçiente mal da pasada de sus pecados. Señor allah, tu nos defiende del escandalo de la fuesa y de las penas de chehanama, y da nos buen fin de nuestros dias...”.

J 60 f. 27r: “Señor alla. Perdona a nuegos bibos y a nuestros muertos, y a los presentes y a los ausentes, grandes y chicos, ombres y mugeres, que tu sabes nuestros finos y tenemos esperanza en tu piedad pues da parçida a nuestros yerros, señor alla. Quien a hecho bien pues creçele en su bondad y quien es pecador dale por tu piedad parçida a sus pecados. Señor alla, tu nos defiende de los escandalos de la fuesa y del ‘adeb de cha’anam y da nos por tu piedad buena postremeria...”.

N 2, f. 49v-50r: “Señor Alla. Perdona nuestros bibos y nuestros muertos a los presentes y absentes grandes y pequeños hombres y mugeres que tu sabes nuestros fines. Tenemos esperanza en tu piedad pues da passada de nuestros yerros y pecados. Señor, defiendele del escandalo de la fuesa y de las penas de chahanna y danos buen fin de nuestros dias. emin”.

IV.5.3. *The edition*

Gayangos based his edition mainly on S 3, completing the missing preface with the preface of N 1. It is remarkable that Gayangos did not notice the many shortcomings of this MS, which are evident in many places, for example the chapter on the Twelve Degrees in which the world is governed¹⁹⁸. The 11th category of this list should be that of women (all other MSS). It is mentioned, however, in S 3 (and in Gayangos’ edition) in the introduction to that chapter as the last and lowest category, which places the woman even below the degree of “idle fellow” (*baldio*)¹⁹⁹. The description of the degree of women itself is absent, moreover, from the actual text, reducing the number of degrees from twelve to eleven.

The conclusion must be that the edition does not meet the standards of a modern edition, and cannot be considered as a

¹⁹⁸ See on this chapter Harvey, “‘The twelve degrees’..”, *passim*.

¹⁹⁹ *Edition*, pp. 412-16; S 3, f. 193v-199v.

faithful text witness either: Gayangos emended S 3 many times without mentioning it. Yet because of its faithfulness to the ‘adapted’ redaction it is particularly useful as a work of reference for the reception of the *Breviario Sunni*.

IV.5.4. *The contents of the Breviario Sunni*

Our examination of the *Breviario Sunni* on the basis of a reconstruction based on a collation of N 1 and J 1, starts with the introduction. In the introduction Yça Gidelli connects the compilation of the *Breviario Sunni* with the translation of the Qur’ān and the two other Romance works discussed above (the *Thirteen Articles* and the *Tafsīr*). The first work, as we have seen, clearly deals with the religious doctrine (*‘aqīda*), the second with “la ley” (viz. the Qur’ān), “under the guidance of which”, so the introduction continues, “so many very great kings and people without number dwell in liberty and freedom in the promised lands (*tierras de promisión*) and the holy ‘houses’ (*casas sanctas*), where they read it, and where truth and justice are upheld with it (*con ella*, viz. *la ley*, the Qur’ān)”. The meaning of the statement is that by presenting Islamic Law as a well-tried and widely disseminated code in use by large populations in civilized lands the difficult position of the Muslim minority in Castile is stressed.

The Judeo-Christian expression “promised land” has, as far as I know, no Islamic parallel, but we will see below that Yça Gidelli also used other terms in use in medieval Spain, such as *parias*, to designate purely Islamic concepts as well (in the case of the *parias* he uses for example the Islamic concept of the *ḍjizya*). This expression may have two different aspects.

Both the *tierras de promisión* (the term is used in the plural) and the *casas sanctas* are first of all references to *dār al-islām*²⁰⁰. One might suppose that the expression *tierras de promisión* is to be understood as the expression of the hope to be able to perform the *hidjra* to *dār al-islām*, so that the *casas sanctas* perhaps mean the great mosques and the shrines of famous saints. The hope to return to *dār al-islām* is expressed in several colophons of Arabic MSS copied in Christian Spain²⁰¹. The aspect will be discussed below.

²⁰⁰ N 2 and *Tratado y Declaración y Guía*, f. 4r (see appendix 5), read: *casa santa de Maca*. I am not certain which reading is to be preferred.

²⁰¹ Van Koningsveld, “Supplementary notes”, appendix, nos. XVI and XVIII.

The contrast between the Muslims in *dār al-islām* and the social position of the Muslims in medieval Castile mark the transition to an explanation of the reasons for compiling the *Breviario Sunni* in Romance. According to Yça Gidelli the Castilian Mudejars had gradually lost their wealth, their traditional education, and the Arabic language, because of the tributes they had to pay and other hardships they had suffered. It is likely that this was not a short-term development. Rucquoi points out that the reign of Enrique IV was quite favourable to the Mudejars of Valladolid, and it is not to be assumed that the Mudejars of Segovia were treated very differently²⁰². It is therefore likely that Yça Gidelli alludes to the decay of Muslim culture among the Castilian Mudejars since the early Middle Ages. The fact that Yça Gidelli states that the *repartidores*, qualified as 'friends', had urged him to write a concise work in Spanish, dealing with everything that a good Muslim should believe and practice, indicates that he was still on friendly terms with the Mudejar officials in the service of the king in 1462. It is very interesting to notice that Yça Gidelli mentions that these officials especially urged him to write the *Breviario Sunni*, since the reputation of this compilation not only depended on the authority of the author, but also on the people who were credited with having given 'the order' to write the book.

He had made the work as short as possible, he continues, so that its length could not be an excuse for anyone not to read it. It is clear that the *Breviario Sunni* was addressed to those Mudejars who were no longer able to read Arabic. For the sake of brevity Yça even omits giving the sources upon which it was based in the text itself. Instead, in order to be as brief as possible, he will mention them in the prologue. Unfortunately in none of the extant MSS is this extremely interesting list of the thirteen sources to be found. From this it appears either that none of the extant versions is to be entirely relied upon, or that Yça never got round to copying his bibliography. In the conclusion of the introduction Yça expresses the hope that others, more learned than he, and in better material circumstances, will correct his work, although he urges them to take into account the fact that the work had to be succinct.

In the introduction Yça also mentions the fact that in compiling the *Breviario Sunni* he was bearing in mind "the near end of the

²⁰² Rucquoi, *Valladolid en la Edad Media*, vol. 2, p. 509

present age (*el breve fin de este presente siglo*)". It is only at the end of his work, in the chapter devoted to the signs of the end of the present age, that he explains what he means here (see appendix 3). In my opinion this chapter is crucial to the correct interpretation of the entire *Breviario Sunni*; it presents Yça Gidelli's world view.

It begins with the assertion that Muḥammad's prophecies concerning the signs of the end of time have been fulfilled. In other words, some of these prophecies had, according to Yça Gidelli, already come true in the year he completed the *Breviario Sunni*, i.e. in 1462. Although he mentions no sources which can be identified beyond doubt, one of them is implicitly referred to in the next lines: that the age of hypocrisy has come, which appears from the fact that people pretend to be good, but in reality are wicked. From the following lines it appears that the people whom he has in mind are mainly the Muslims: he mentions their moral depravity and their neglect of religious duties. Moreover, the same reversal of values we have observed in the case of the prophecy of 'fray Juan de Rokasia' (discussed in Chapter IV.2.6) can be found in this passage. According to Yça Gidelli people are already lending their ears to women and children instead of to the elders. This is a clear reference to the age of *zulm*, injustice, which is predicted in many *Hadīths*²⁰³. It is very tempting to speculate on which other prophecies Yça Gidelli had in mind. It seems very likely that he must have thought of the predictions (*malāḥim*) of great struggles²⁰⁴, and in particular of the prophecies concerning the conquest of Constantinople²⁰⁵. We have already discussed the similar effect of that conquest on the Jews.

According to Yça the other signs of the coming of the Day of Judgement had not yet appeared, for in the rest of the chapter the future tense is used. The signs mentioned by Yça Gidelli preceding the coming of that day are the usual topics, though there are several interesting accents to be noticed.

First of all, the sun will rise in the West, after which no man's repentance (Ar.: *al-tawba*) will be accepted any longer (this implies that conversion will no longer have any effect), a common topic. The beast (Ar.: *al-dābba*) mentioned in the Qur'ān, and the *Dadj-*

²⁰³ E.g. al-Sulamī, *ʿIqd al-durar*, p. 113.

²⁰⁴ EI² s.v. [art. T. Fahd] these predictions are connected in particular with Dāniyāl [q.v., art. G. Vajda]; Al-Sulamī, *ʿIqd al-durar*, p. 113.

²⁰⁵ Al-Sulamī, *ʿIqd al-durar*, p. 249 ff; EI² s.v. al-mahdī [art. W. Madelung].

djāl, blind in his right eye, will appear. The Dadjdjāl, who will perform all sorts of miracles, will be followed by the Israelites, but he will not be able to enter Mecca, Medina and Bayt al-Maqdis (i.e. Jerusalem), “because these are the lands and the regions where the faith is established and has been and will be upheld”. There ‘Īsā b. Maryam will descend from Heaven and kill the Dadjdjāl and he will destroy the “heresy and its orders” i.e. the Christians and their religious institutions, apparently the religious orders. Thereupon the earth will know a period of peace and freedom of tyranny, united under one faith, i.e. under Islam. Subsequently the eschatological peoples Yādjudj and Mādjudj will appear, all sorts of environmental catastrophes will occur and ‘Īsā b. Maryam will die and be buried beside the prophet Muḥammad [in Medina]. Thereupon God will give an order and the trumpet announcing the end of time, will sound. Herewith the chapter ends. For a description of the eschatological events, Yça refers his readers to the *Thirteen Articles*, which are explained in the third chapter of the *Breviario Sunni*.

In all sorts of *Hadīths* the view can be found that after ‘Īsā b. Maryam has returned to the earth he will join the Mahdī and perform the *ṣalāt* in Jerusalem with him. In the sequence of events presented here the figure of the Mahdī is strikingly absent, however. This may imply that Yça, like many Sunni Muslims before him, did not believe in the coming of such a figure. It will be remembered that the belief in the Mahdī was not prescribed in Sunni Islam and that it was above all a popular belief, rejected by many learned Muslims²⁰⁶. Be that as it may, it is clear that, as far as can be judged from the MSS available to us, a role as Messiah is reserved solely for ‘Īsā b. Maryam. It is ‘Īsā b. Maryam who will restore peace upon the entire earth and defeat the Christians. It is also remarkable that Yça stresses the fact that ‘Īsā b. Maryam will destroy the religious orders. His readers must certainly have connected this statement with the role of the religious orders in Spain. Once again there is a clear parallel with the prophecy of ‘Fray Juan de Rokasia’, in which the religious orders are also threatened with future punishment. At this point we might speculate on whether there was a particular reason for compiling the *Bre-*

²⁰⁶ The following tradition was put into the mouth of al-Hasan al-Basrī, “matters will only grow in hardship, the world will only increase in backward movement, and the people in greed. The Hour will rise only on the worst of people. There will be no Mahdī but ‘Īsā b. Maryam”, apud EI², p. 1234, s.v. Al-mahdī [art. W. Madelung].

viario Sunni in 1462. In several traditions there are speculations about the length of the ‘mahdist’ reign²⁰⁷. Traditions may have circulated in Christian Spain, predicting eight or nine years between the conquest of Constantinople (1453) and the beginning of the Messianic era²⁰⁸.

The second characteristic of this chapter is the central place of Palestine. This appears first of all from the seven ages in which world history is divided. These are marked by the following figures and events: Adam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Sulaymān (“who built the temple”, i.e. of Jerusalem), the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, ʿĪsā b. Maryam, Muḥammad, the Day of Judgement. These schemes are quite common in the Christian apocalyptic tradition²⁰⁹ and it seems certain that Yça based himself directly or indirectly upon one of these. This particular division in seven ages is found, for example, in Beatus de Liébana’s *Commentary*, and Beatus may have derived it from a similar division found in Isidorus of Seville’s *Etymologiarum*²¹⁰. Commenting upon Revelation 7:4, Beatus writes:

For the first age was from Adam to Noah and occupied 2,242 years; the second, from Noah to Abraham, was 942 years. The third, from Abraham to Moses, was 505 years, and the fourth, from the departure of the sons of Israel from Egypt until their entrance into the promised land, was 40 years. From the entrance into the promised land to Saul, the first king, the Israelites had Judges for 355 years. Saul reigned 40 years, and from David to the beginning of the temple there were 43 years. The fifth age, from the first building of the Temple to the Babylonian captivity, took 446 years. There were 70 years in which the people were captive and the Temple desolate. The Temple was restored by Zorobabel in 4 years, and from the restoration until the Incarnation to Christ there were 540 years²¹¹.

According to Beatus, writing in Era 824 there were only 14 years left in the sixth millennium, and he expected the sixth age to end in the Spanish era 838. The remaining time, he states, “is uncertain to human investigation”. In Yça’s scheme a seventh age, from ʿĪsā b. Maryam until the prophet Muḥammad, is added.

²⁰⁷ See al-Sulamī, *ʿIqd al-durar*, p. 301 ff.

²⁰⁸ See Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, vol. 2, p. 193, “3, 9 up to ten years”.

²⁰⁹ See A. Deluneau: *L'Histoire du Salut chez les Pères de l'Eglise. La Doctrine des Ages du Monde*.

²¹⁰ Isidorus Hispalensis, *S. Isidori Etymologiarum*, pp. 224-228.

²¹¹ Translated by McGinn, *Visions of the End*, pp. 77-78; Latin text in H.A. Sanders: *Beati in Apocalypsin Libri Duodecim*, pp. 367-68.

The central place of Palestine also appears from the fact that the region of Medina, Mecca and Jerusalem is presented as the only region in the world where Islam was and will always be upheld. This is a remarkable point of view, and it seems likely that it is the background of the remarks in the introduction about the “*tierras de promisión y casa santas*”. The region is apparently seen as the manifestation of Islam in its ‘purest’ form. We can only speculate why this is so. In the extensive literature on the sanctity of Jerusalem, the so-called *Fadā’il al-Quds* literature we find the same sorts of periodisation of religious world history stressing the relationship between Islamic figures and Jerusalem²¹². Assuming that Yça, being a Sūfī (see below, IV.7.3. and IV.7.4.), was indirectly influenced by the issues discussed in the *Fadā’il al-Quds* literature, one might say that the expectation that all eschatological events will take place in that region was a factor. According to Ibn Kathīr²¹³ the spectacles of the *ṣirāt*, of the gate of the Paradise, of the footprints of the Prophet, and of the valley of *Djahannam* were depicted there. It will also be remembered that Yça Gidelli alluded to the poles which govern the world in his letter to Juan de Segovia. According to some mystical sources the substitutes of the *aqtāb*, the *abdāl*, are to be found in Palestine²¹⁴. Goitein even qualified the Sūfis as “fervent champions of the particular sanctity of Jerusalem and of Palestine in general”²¹⁵.

The adapted version of the *Breviario Sunni* presents the following sequence instead of the above-mentioned periodization: Adam, Nūh, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, Sulaymān, ʿĪsā b. Maryam, Muḥammad, the Day of Judgement²¹⁶. In the adapted version the remark about Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem as the region where Islam would always be upheld was removed as well, so that the original stress on the sanctity of Jerusalem, which apparently occupied an import-

²¹² See Sivan, “The fadā’il al-Quds Literature”, p. 266.

²¹³ *Biddāya*, apud EI² s.v. al-kuds.

²¹⁴ EI² s.v. al-kuds, s.v. al-abdāl; Goitein, “The sanctity of Jerusalem and Palestine in Early Islam”, p. 144; Schimmel, *Mystische Dimensionen*, pp. 286-7.

²¹⁵ Goitein, *op. cit.*, p. 142. The strong accent on the sanctity of Palestine is also found in Lullus’s *Libre del gentil*, 1121-2, where the Muslim says to the heathen: “Sàpies, gentil, que tot lo pus honrat loc e.l pus desirat que.ls crestians ne.ls jueus hagen en est món és una ciutat que hom apella Jerusalem. Aquella ciutat fo, en lo commençant del món, cap dels profetes, e en aquella ciutat so Jesucrist crucificat e mort, segons que.ls crestians creen; e en aquella ciutat han e tenen eposseixen los sarraïns, mal grat dels crestians e dels jueus; e en aquella ciutat és ligat l’Alcorà, e null libre ne nulla lig no hi és tan honrada com l’Alcorà”.

²¹⁶ *Edition*, p. 401; N 2, f. 141v-142v; J 60, f. 83v, lacks this period; S 3, f. 187v-188r.

ant place in Yça's thought, has been completely removed²¹⁷. There can therefore be no doubt that the adaptation discussed above was a deliberate one.

From this analysis it appears that there is a clear continuity in Yça's views between 1454 and 1462, and it can be assumed that the religious motives which induced Yça to cooperate in translating the Qur'ān also led him to compile the *Breviario Sunni* in Romance, although in the *Breviario Sunni* he apparently addressed a different readership. The readership of the Qur'ān was to be the entire non-believing world, while the readership of the *Breviario Sunni* consisted first of all of the hispanophone Muslims (the *propios y estraños*). In this respect the allusion to their neglect of religious obligations and moral decay is significative. The central idea of the *Breviario Sunni* is to warn the Mudejars of the immanence of the Day of Judgement. But Yça also expresses the hope of a 'messianic' time of peace, in which mankind will be converted to Islam. No liberating role for the Turks, as predicted in the prophecy of 'fray Juan de Rokasia', is expressed by Yça Gidelli.

The composition of the *Breviario Sunni* is completely understandable when examined in this perspective. The book was never intended to function in the same way as, for example, the Jewish *taqqanot* of 1432, meant to adapt Jewish customs to the needs of the time and to restore the socio-judicial position of the communities of Castilian Jews who had suffered much from the forced conversions at the end of the 14th century and the anti-Jewish movements at the beginning of the 15th century²¹⁸. The *Breviario Sunni* is written from the perspective of *dār al-islām*, and draws heavily from Malikite *fiqh* works such as *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī. The part on *fiqh* also covers the same range of subjects as the *Risāla*, but is much shorter, and therefore far less detailed. This perspective of *dār al-islām* appears very clearly from the chapter on *djihād*. The introductory words of this chapter (N 1/ J 1, chapter 36: "De la lid²¹⁹ y guerra y frontera (= Ar. *al-ribāt*) y lo que en ello cumple") read:

La lid y frontera es deudo y es ley que los contra ley sean requeridos primero y amonestados con la fee saluo quando dellos se comenzare y an de

²¹⁷ See on this issue EI² s.v. al-kuds, sub II.

²¹⁸ *De iure hispano-hebraico. Las taqqanot de Valladolid de 1432*; cf. Baer, *Historia de los Judíos en la España cristiana*, vol. 2, p. 515 ff.

²¹⁹ Boggs, *Tentative Dictionary*, s.v. literally: *batalla, combate*; cf. Alonso, DME, s.v.

responder con vna de tres cosas, la vna resçeuir la fee, o pagar parias tributo, o la guerra²²⁰.

This is a faithful rendering (though abbreviated) of the beginning of the chapter on *djihād* in the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd²²¹. The enemy is to be warned, and is offered three possibilities: conversion to Islam, paying the *djizya*, or war. It is remarkable that the tribute is referred to as *parias*, since this word was well-known as the designation of the tributes which the kingdom of Granada had to pay to Castile.

Another example is chapter 27, which according to the title deals with *zakāt al-harth* (*la labrança*), but from the following passage²²² it appears that it deals with the *zakāt* on goods and with the *djizya* as well:

De çinco cosas se deue tomar el quinto: de lo que se fallara en tierra que enterraron los gentiles y generaçiones pasadas en tierra de los alarabes, o en tierra que despues señorearon moros. Del oro o plata de que se aya el quinto, o de lo enterrado quier sea cristal o piedras preçiosas o aljofar o alaton o fierro²²³ tomese dello el quinto y de lo de la cabalgada de la guerra el quinto. De lo que se a de tomar el diezmo, conuiene a saber de los subjetados²²⁴, quando saliere[n] fuera con mercadurias y bendieren lo que llebaren tomen dellos el diezmo de sus mercadurias y si entraren con moneda y mercaren con ella sus mercadurias tomen dellos diezmo de sus mercadurias. Y los que llebaren de las mercadurias y prouision de farina al Almedina o a Maca non las tomen nin den mas de medio diezmo²²⁵.

In dealing with the *djizya* on merchandise of the *ahl al-dhimma* the text remains so close to the original *fiqh* work that the reader gets the impression that it was actually written in Muslim territory: “*quando salieren fuera*” clearly means: “when they [scil. the *ahl al-dhimma*] leave *dār al-islām*”!

Sometimes the author seems to depart from this pattern, for example in the short summary of Muslim ethics, of which one of the ‘*mandamientos*’ reads as follows²²⁶:

²²⁰ N 1, f. 30 v.

²²¹ *Risāla*, chapter 30, p. 162 ff.

²²² N 1, f. 24v.

²²³ Cf. Ibn Abī Zayd, *Risāla*, p. 134/ translation p. 135.

²²⁴ I.e. the *ahl al-dhimma*.

²²⁵ Literal translation of Ibn Abī Zayd, *Risāla*, p. 134/ translation, p. 135.

²²⁶ N 1, f. 1 v.

“Sey <fiel y> verdadero a tu señor, aunque *no sea moro²²⁷*, y pagalo sus derechos, que tu heredero es *quando no dexaras heredero baron moro propinquo*²²⁸”.

On the other hand the commandment: “No biuas en tierra de ynfieles, ni en tierra sin justiçia, ni entre malos veçinos, ni [te] acompañes con *malos moros*²²⁹” seems to be written from the perspective of *dār al-islām*. This is a clear allusion to the duty to perform the *hidjra*.

Except for some dubious examples a distinctive feature of this work is therefore its strict adherence to the perspective of *dār al-islām*. This perspective is even present in the last chapter of the *Breviario Sunni*, which describes the “Twelve Degrees in which the world is governed”. Harvey points out that Yça Gidelli derived this from a similar division of estates in the *Doze Trabajos de Hercules* by Enrique de Villena (d. 1431), written first in Catalan and translated into Castilian by the author himself. This is a division of the world into twelve social categories, but in Yça’s version the ‘Christian’ categories of Villena (prince, prelate, knight, religious man, etc.) are in some cases substituted by Muslim estates. It begins with the caliph and the *mufit* and concludes with the the idle fellow (*baldio*). Interesting here is the strange mixture of social categories derived from medieval Christian Spain and *dār al-islām*. The estate of the caliph reads as follows²³⁰:

El estado de algalifa, combiene a saber: adelantado mayor de allah, en la tierra governador, so la qual regla y estado biben y deçienden prinçipes, reyes y los otros gobernadores, justiçias y sus lugarestinientes, regidores de pueblos, que an temporal juridiçion y exerçiçio y cada vno dellos tiene prinçipado, los quales son en cargo mantener justiçia, tomando sus devidos derechos y açaquees y distribuyendolo donde ban, ebitando yra y cobdiçia y todos los otros viçios. Seran dignos de la gloria perdurable, amen....

There can be no mistake about the fact that categories such as the ‘*regidores de pueblos*’ with their temporal jurisdiction and those who are in charge of maintaining justice (*justicias*) are ‘Spanish’. Yet a statement that those who belong to each estate will gain a

²²⁷ J 1 desk^creyente.

²²⁸ J 1 en falta de eredero. This is a reference to the aforesaid *Costum d’Espanya*, see Chapter III.3.2.

²²⁹ J 1, f. 6v: ellos kon malos muçlimes; N 1, los moros. These pages must have been very unclear in the *Vorlage*; there are many errors in this part of N 1.

²³⁰ N 1, f. 66r.

heavenly reward if they carry out their respective religious obligations concludes each description. Only the description of the lowest one, that of the idle fellow, ends with the remark that those who belong to this estate will go to hell.

The significance of this chapter is not entirely clear. It can be found in all MSS of the *Breviario Sunni*, and there seems to be no reason to assume that it was added later. The significance may be that it sanctions the *status quo*, implicitly rejecting any revolutionary movement, such as predicted by the prophecy of 'Fray Juan de Rokasia'. Its presence in the *Breviario Sunni* may be explained by the omnipresence of the hierarchical representation of society in Western art of this period, for example in the *dança general de la muerte*. The *dança general de la muerte* was similarly associated with the degrees of society and the end of all things: it stressed that all men were equal at the end²³¹. At the same time the chapter places Mudejar life under the shadow of the Messianic future in which the whole world will be converted to Islam. The apocalyptic message of the entire book becomes very clear if the logic in the order of the last three chapters is examined. Chapter 58, as we have seen, deals with the signs of the end of the present age. Chapter 59 deals with *tawba* (*repentencia*) and chapter 60 is the chapter on the degrees in which the world is governed.

Chapter 59 ends with a *du'ā'* in Spanish which aims at the remission of sins. The theme of the remission of sins is not an original one, for it is dealt with in many *fiqh* works and works of devotion. In the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd, p. 302, for example, repentance is a duty for every Believer ("wa'l-tawba farīda 'alā kull mu'min"), and there follows an explanation of the conception. The originality of this chapter consists (a) in its position in the structure of the book, namely at the very end, immediately after the explanation that the Messianic age and the Day of Judgement are at hand, and (b) in the fact that it offers the common Mudejar a *du'ā'* aiming at the remission of sin *in the vernacular*. I have not been able to ascertain whether Yça Gidelli wrote this *du'ā'* himself or whether he took it from another source. The sequence of the last three chapters clearly aims at a revival of Muslim religious values as described in the preceding chapters of the *Breviario Sunni*.

²³¹ See Harvey, "The *alfaquí* in la *dança general de la muerte*", with further literature.

IV.6. THE POLEMIC BETWEEN YÇA AND JUAN LÓPEZ DE SALAMANCA

The Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid²³² preserves an inventory of the library of the Duchess of Arévalo, Leonor de Pimentel, who was married to the Duke of Plasencia, one of the most powerful nobles of Castile in the middle of the 15th century. The inventory was made up after the Duchess had died in 1468 and it mentions 25 books. It was first noticed and published by Saez at the beginning of the 19th century²³³, then by Beer (1894)²³⁴ and Amador de los Ríos²³⁵. It was recently studied by Ladero Quesada and Quintanilla Raso²³⁶.

The inventory is of some importance, since it comprises a work written by Yça and another by a certain Juan López against a religious work by the former. The books in this library written by Juan López and Yça are the following²³⁷:

- 3 Un libro de coberturas de cuero morado, escrito en pergamino, que hizo el maestro fray Juan Lopes, de clarísimo sol de justicia, estoriado e iluminado con letras de oro, e figuras, con las armas del duque y duquesa.
- 4 Otro libro de coberturas de cuero morado, que hiso el dicho maestro frey Juan Lopes, estoriado con las armas del duque y duquesa, y su guarnicion de plata, que es el libro de la casta niña.
- 8 Otro libro de coberturas de cuero morado de don yça guidili alfaqui de los moros de Segovia, que hiso contra la fe, al qual responde frey Juan Lopes.
- 12 Otro libro, de coberturas moradas, que hiso el maestro frey Juan Lopes, el qual es segundo libro de clarísimo sol de justicia.
- 13 Otro libro, con coberturas moradas, en que comienzan los evangelios moralizados, que hiso el dicho maestro, de los domingos de todo el año.

²³² Osuna, Leg. 216 / 6, no. 2.

²³³ Saez, *Demostración histórica*, p. 543.

²³⁴ Beer, *Die Handschriftenschatze Spaniens*, pp. 401-2.

²³⁵ *Historia crítica de la literatura española*.

²³⁶ Ladero Quesada and Quintanilla Raso, "Bibliotecas", pp. 45-9. The authors identify Juan López as Juan López de Salamanca, but do not give any arguments for this identification.

²³⁷ The numbers are Beer's, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-2.

22 Otro libro de coberturas moradas escripto de mano ques el que hiso don caguidili mofti de los moros de Segovia²³⁸.

The identity of Juan López

Until recently there has been some confusion about the identity of Juan López, as can be seen from several articles in the *Repertorio de las Ciencias Eclesiásticas en España*, such as those by Reinhardt²³⁹ and Rodríguez²⁴⁰. In his article Rodríguez draws attention to the fact that the *Encyclopedia Ilustrada* (Espasa-Calpe) discerns another 15th-century author and cleric Juan López besides the well-known Juan López de Salamanca. The text of the entry referred to by Rodríguez provides a good introduction to a discussion of the problem of Juan López's identity. It reads as follows:

López (Juan). Escritor y religioso español del siglo XV. Adquirió mucha nombradía con las obras que compuso, entre ellas: *La Respuesta*, que es una refutación á la *Suma de los principales mandamientos ó [sic] deve-damientos de la Ley é Cuna*, de Iza Guidili (ó según otros, Ice Gebir), alfaquí mayor de la aljama de Segovia. Dicha *Respuesta* la escribió Fray Juan López en 1462, año en que apareció también la obra refutada. *Clarísimo Sol de Justicia* es otro trabajo de este autor, al igual que el *Libro de la casta niña* y *Los Evangelios moralizados*. En el inventario del duque de Plasencia se citan detalladamente las obras anteriores, á exepción de *Los Evangelios*. Todo ello es una prueba del aprecio en que tales libros eran tenidos²⁴¹.

It is remarkable that the anonymous author of the entry should point out that all works by Juan López except *Los Evangelios moralizados* can be found in the inventory, since a work with that title is mentioned in the inventory under number 13. It should also be noticed that the treatise against Iza Guidili bears the title *La Respuesta*, and that it is stated to have been written in 1462 against the latter's *Suma de los principales mandamientos y deve-damientos de la santa ley y çuna*. These assertions of uncertain value are clearly

²³⁸ Beer, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-2, follows Saez, *op. cit.*, p. 543, who incorrectly read "Don Caqui Dilimost, de los moros de Segovia".

²³⁹ *RHCEE*, vol. 5 s.v. Juan López de Salamanca: "1431 maestro de estudios in San Esteban in Salamanca. Gegner von Pedro Martínez de Osma in der Frage der Busslehre. Ob dieser Theologe mit dem gleichnamigen Verfasser der *Evangelios moralizados* identisch ist, ist ungewiss".

²⁴⁰ "Autores espirituales españoles en la Edad Media", pp. 175-351, 309-310, s.v. no. 193: Juan López de Salamanca, O.P.

²⁴¹ The article does not include a bibliography.

based on a secondary source: Amador de los Ríos' *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, the only source used by the author who apparently did not consult the text of the inventory itself, even if Amador de los Ríos quoted Saez' work, in which the inventory had been published²⁴².

In a recent work on the Dominican Order by Kaeppli²⁴³ an extensive entry is found on the theologian Juan López de Salamanca. This work provides a good introduction to the bio-bibliography of this person. The works ascribed to him are the following.

1. A biography of Vicente Ferrer, a work described by Antist as follows:

El maestro fray Iuan Lopez de Salamanca que fue casi contemporaneo de sant Vincente²⁴⁴ escriuio su vida por contemplacion de doña Leonor de Pimentel condesa de Plasencia: esta historia ley en Madrid escrita de mano, en poder del sapientissimo maestro, y eloquentissimo predicador fray Hernando del Castillo Prior de nuestra Señora de Atocha, y della saque algunas particularidades del santo, tocantes a España y en especial a Castilla²⁴⁵.

2. *Libro ... en el cual acomulase e iuntasse las deuotissimas e santissimas historias... de nuestra Señora, dedicado a Doña Leonor Pimentel, condesa de Plasencia.*

²⁴² Amador de los Ríos, *Historia*, vol. 7, pp. 172-3, mentioned two sources for his remarks on Juan López: Saez, *Monedas de Enrique IV*, and González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico*. It is uncertain on which source Amador de los Ríos based his assertion "La respuesta de fray Juan López ... logro en efecto cierta estimación, haciendose de ella *numerosos traslados* [my italics]".

²⁴³ *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 1, pp. 470-2, s.v. Iohannes Lopez.

²⁴⁴ Cf. Antonio de Sena, *Bibliotheca Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, p. 153, but see Nicolas Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*, vol. 2, no. 792 (p. 330), who wrote: "Ioannes quidam Lopez Dominicanus vulgari lingua Castellae reddidit: *Los Evangelios desde Adviento hasta la Dominica in Passione*, Ducissae Arevali rogatu: quae Zamorae edita anno MCDXC. In folio vidit D. Thomas Tamaius de Vargas. Nescio an alius sit Ioannes Lopez de Salamanca, quem Dominicanum ad ordinem receptum in coenobio S. Stephani eiusdem urbis, scripsisse *Controversias contra Iudaeos*, Aegidius ait Gundisalvi de Avila in *Salmantina historia*, atque item Ioannes Salmantinus, quem laudat Antonius Senensis in *Bibliotheca Dominicana*: quem ait ad preces Eleonorae Pimentelliae Comitissae Placentinae scripsisse B. Vicentii Ferrerii Vitam. Sed quod ex Vincentio Iustiniano Antistio in eiusdem argumenti commentario adiungit, aequalem eum vixisse eidem B. Vincentio, qui anno MCDXVIII aut sequenti ad superos abiit, falsum est; cum Eleonora Pimentellia uxor secunda fuerit Alvari Stunicae secundi Comitis Placentiae et primi Ducis de Arevalo ac de Bejar, catholicorum Regum tempore".

²⁴⁵ *Vida de Sant Vincente Ferrer*, p. 474.

MS: Madrid, B.N. 103²⁴⁶. This work was partly edited by Getino²⁴⁷. As far as I know Getino was also the first to draw attention to the fact that Juan López de Salamanca was the author of the following polemical treatises against Pedro Martínez de Osma²⁴⁸:

3. *Tratamiento de la penitencia según la Iglesia Romana contra los errores del maestro Pedro Martínez de Osma*.

Madrid B.N. 13087, f. 179-237. This work is identical with the following treatise, of which it is a transcript by Father Andrés Burriel.

4. *Defensorium fidei Christi contra garrullos preceptores*.

(MS Toledo Biblioteca Capitular 17-14).

5. *Quodlibet mag. Patri de Osma habens articulos 35, cum suis impugnationibus ad singulos per fr. Iohannem Luppi Salamantini* (MS: Vat. Lat. 4149).

6. *Libro de los evangelios del adviento fasta la dominica in passione, moralizados por el reverendo maestro frey iuan lopez. Los quales romanço por ruego dela muy manifica virtuosa señora la duquesa de Arevalo su señora*. Zamora, Antonio de Centenera, 1490²⁴⁹. A MS of this work can be found in the Cathedral of Salamanca. According to the explicit of the MS Juan López de Salamanca died on 14 April 1479.

In addition to these works Alonso Fernández states that Juan López de Salamanca wrote a work on the life of Dominic and other famous men of the Dominican Order, and a work against the “superstitions of the Jews”²⁵⁰. The authorship of these treatises is not confirmed by other sources. It can be seen that there is a striking parallel between number 13 of the afore-mentioned inventory: “Otro libro, con coberturas moradas, en que comienzan los evangelios moralizados, que hiso el dicho maestro, de los domingos de todo el año”, and the *Libro de los evangelios del adviento fasta la dominica in passione, moralizados por el reverendo maestro frey*

²⁴⁶ Described in *Inventario general*.

²⁴⁷ *Concepción y nascencia de la virgen*, passim.

²⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. XCVIII-CII.

²⁴⁹ Madrid, B.N., Inc. 635.

²⁵⁰ p. 376: “Fr. Ioannes Lopez Salmanticensis religione scientiaque ornatissimus ad petitionem excellentissimae, ac piissimae Ducisae Arevalensis, et Comitis Placentinae Eleonorae Pimentelae scripsit vitam B. Vincentii Ferrerii, et vitam B. Dominici Patris nostri, et aliorum primitivorum nostrae familiae beatorum, quinque libris distributas, scripsit etiam contra superstitiones Iudaeorum opus eruditum. Claruit circa annum millesimum quadringentesimum septuagesimum”.

Juan Lopez. Los quales romanço por ruego dela muy manifica virtuosa señora la duquesa de Arevalo su señora.

This parallel is explained if we assume that the author of all the works mentioned in the inventory was Juan López de Salamanca. There is also a difference, however. The printed work deals with the Sundays of only part of the year, the MS in the inventory deals with the Sundays of the entire year. The original work was probably only partially printed. One of the sources on Juan López de Salamanca's work remained 'separate' for years (Saez used the archive of the Duke of Plasencia; Saez's work was used by Beer, and by Amador de los Ríos, whose work was eventually consulted by the author of the entry in Espasa-Calpe). While the inventory only became known in the beginning of the 19th century, from the 16th century onwards a corpus of historical knowledge of Juan López de Salamanca was transmitted as well.

Now that the identity of Yça's opponent has been established we must turn once again to the two works mentioned in the inventory. The historian González Dávila saw a copy of the book described under no. 8, when he visited the convent of Saint Augustine in Salamanca. He described the contents of that work in his "*Teatro eclesiástico*" as follows:

In the year 1616 I read a treatise in the convent of Saint Augustine in Salamanca by Fray Juan López, against another treatise written by a Moorish *faqth*, inhabitant of Segovia, who was called Cidili. The scholar [*el maestro*] tried to make him a child of the light, but did not succeed, because Cidili preferred to remain in the mist and blindness of his sect²⁵¹.

The convent of Saint Augustine was completely destroyed during the War of Independence with the French, and so far I have not been able to find other MSS of the work concerned²⁵². From the description it seems that it had a tripartite structure: (a) a treatise against the Christian faith by Yça (b) an answer by Juan López de Salamanca (c) a reply by Yça. However, Gil González Dávila

²⁵¹ González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico de las iglesias metropolitanas y catedrales de las Reynos de las dos Castillas*, vol. 1, p. 524: "En el año 1616 leí un tratado en la librería del convento de San Augustin de Salamanca de Fray Juan Lopez, contra otro tratado de un Moro Alfaqui, natural de Segovia, que se llamava Cidili: el maestro pretendia hazerle hijo de la luz, y no lo consiguio, perseverando Cidili en tinieblas, y ceguedad de su secta".

²⁵² From the inventory of the third Duke of Béjar, the later title of the Duke of Plasencia, it appears that the books of Yça Gidelli no longer formed part of the library, see: Redondo, "La bibliothéque de don Francisco de Zúñiga Guzmán y Sotomayor", *passim*.

mentioned the same work in a letter to the historian Diego de Colmenares as follows:

I have seen a treatise written by a Moorish *faqh* from Segovia, called iza ghidilhi, against which the Dominican [sic] Juan López wrote, and the title of the book, which is in the library of the convent of Saint Augustine in Salamanca²⁵³.

From this description element (c), the reply by Yça, is strikingly absent. From a historical point of view this seems more convincing, for if (c) indeed formed part of the book the *Mudejar* Yça would have had the last word in a religious polemic with a *Christian* theologian in the service of a member of the Christian nobility which is indeed very difficult to imagine.

How did this work come into being? Was it the result of an oral polemic between Juan López and Yça or was Juan López' attention attracted by an anti-Christian work by Yça? We only know of one anti-Christian treatise by Yça, the letter containing 12 points of doubt about the Christian faith, sent to Juan de Segovia after he had returned to Spain from Aiton. We have seen above that Juan de Segovia's answer to this letter formed part of the books donated to the library in Salamanca. Juan López, who lived in Salamanca, had of course a good opportunity to elaborate this letter and complete the work that was left unfinished by Juan de Segovia. On the basis of the description by González Dávila, however, the conclusion must follow that Juan López's work was the reply to an anti-Christian work by Yça, and indeed this seems most likely.

In the description of book no. 22 of the inventory the title *mofiti* (*mufti*) is noteworthy. It seems possible that the book in question is the *Breviario Sunni*, in which Yça is also qualified as *mofiti*. From the presence of this book in the library of the Duchess it would follow that the *Breviario Sunni* may have had Christian readers (members of the nobility even) who would undoubtedly have consulted the manuscript written in Latin and not in Arabic characters. The same holds true for the anti-Christian polemic. This work must also have been written before 1468, the date of the compilation of the inventory. It seems unlikely that it was written before

²⁵³ "E visto un tratado de un moro natural de Segovia alfaque, llamavase iza ghidilhi, contra el qual escrivio el maestro fray Juan Lopez Dominico y el titulo del libro que esta en la libreria de San Augustin de Salamanca", Colmenares, *Aparato de la Historia de Segovia*, Archivo Catedral Segovia B 330, f. 314r, cf. Colmenares, *Historia de la insignia ciudad de Segovia*, vol. 3, p. 24.

1455, i.e. before Juan de Segovia and Yça met. It therefore probably came into being between 1456 and 1468, i.e. during the reign of Enrique IV. The presence of both works in the library of this Castilian nobleman implies that Yça's works circulated in Castile written in Latin script. Although that could be the result of his works being studied by Christians or Jews it is much more likely that Yça himself or other Mudejars were responsible for the fact that the works became accessible to a Christian public. There may be a political and a religious aspect to this.

We will start with the political aspect. The Duke of Plasencia was a very powerful member of the Castilian nobility. The dethronement of Enrique had been preceded by years of unrest. In 1465 the nobles, including the Duke of Plasencia, reproached Enrique with the fact that:

gente de moros a havido V.A. en su compañía en guarda de su persona, y a muchos dellos V.A. ha rredemido de cautibos y les dio libertad y a todos dio armas y cavallos, y les ha fecho y façe muchas mercedes pagandoles el sueldo doblado que a los christanos, dexando tantos mezquinos cautivos en el reino de Granada ... entre ellos ay muchos cristianos que se tornan moros, los quales andan descomulgados²⁵⁴.

Alfonso, Enrique's rival, said on 17 August 1465 that Enrique "sostenía a los moros enemigos de la fe católica trayéndolos consigo, hospedándolos en su palacio y dotándolos con doble sueldo que a los cristianos"²⁵⁵. The background of these complaints was the King's Moorish guard, who according to Alonso de Palencia, a chronicler very hostile to the King, caused all sorts of scandals and troubles²⁵⁶. Moreover, in the years preceding the civil war, in which he was to take side with Alfonso, proclaimed king in 1465, the Duke tried to justify the dethronement of the King, urging the bishop of Ampurias and Juan López de Salamanca to write against Francisco de Toledo, professor of theology and dean of the cathedral in that city, who had defended the position of the King. According to Palencia:

No les [viz. the faction of Alfonso] fue difícil refutar estas deducciones [viz. from the work of Francisco de Toledo] en sus réplicas escritas a que

²⁵⁴ R.A.H. Salazar F-22, f. 180v-189, apud Rucquoi, *Valladolid en la Edad Media*, vol. 2, p. 509. cf. *MHE*, vol. XIV, pp. 370-1.

²⁵⁵ Archivo Municipal Burgos, 1465, f. 86. apud Torres Balbás, *Algunos Aspectos*, 26-7.

²⁵⁶ According to Phillips, *Enrique IV*, these guards were all converts to Christianity. This was certainly not the case.

me refiero al obispo de Ampurias, fray Antonio de Alcalá, franciscano [d. 13 May 1459], ilustre profesor de teología y reputado entre los españoles por hombre de vasta instrucción, y al *maestro fray Juan López, del Orden de Predicadores, a quien respectaba mucho el conde de Plasencia* [my italics]. Suministráronle [viz. Alfonso] poderosos argumentos para la refutación multitud de textos autenticos del viejo y del nuevo Testamento, las leyes, las costumbres, los estatutos, constituciones y monumentos de la antigüedad del pasado siglo²⁵⁷.

From this it appears that Juan López de Salamanca, too, was involved in this political struggle and wrote a theological work justifying the dethronement of a heretic. This alleged heresy of the king has puzzled historians until fairly recently²⁵⁸. The picture of him as a heretic was propagated by several sources. Besides the source mentioned above, it was first of all Alonso de Palencia, who favoured the faction of Alfonso and never tired of retailing stories which were unfavourable to Enrique. But we have also the stories of two travellers who visited Castile in the middle of the 15th century. Tetzels, the servant of one of them, Leo of Rozmital, pictured life at Enrique's court in the year 1466 or 1467 as follows:

As the King was not there, the knight conducted my lord into the King's apartment which is splendidly built where the King had a stately meal to be prepared... Then the knight conducted my lord to a little town [Olmedo] ... where we found the King. We were lodged in a wretched inn with only two rooms on the naked earth, and we had to leave our horses outside the town. The inhabitants are for the most part heathens. The old King has many at his court and has driven out many Christians and given their land to the heathen. Also he eats and drinks and is clothed in the heathen manner and is an enemy of Christians. He has committed a great crime and follows unchristian ways²⁵⁹.

Even if we interpret these sources as propaganda of the opposite party, as Phillips does²⁶⁰, we are left with many pieces of evidence that Enrique's reign was very favourable to the Mudejars. The Mudejars of Valladolid sided with Enrique's faction against Alfonso, and Enrique himself granted the Mudejars of Segovia the privilege to be no longer subordinate to an *alcalde mayor*. More-

²⁵⁷ Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica de Enrique IV*, vol 1, p. 195, cf. Phillips, *Enrique IV*, p. 103, who dates this propaganda war in 1466.

²⁵⁸ The debate about this alleged sympathy has not ended yet, cf. Phillips: *Enrique IV*, pp. 87-90.

²⁵⁹ *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital*, apud Phillips, *Enrique IV*, p. 88.

²⁶⁰ *Op.cit.*, pp. 81-95.

over, the documents in the Archive of Simancas demonstrate that many Mudejars occupied high positions in the service of the king in the building industry, the manufacturing of arms, etc. In this climate it became perhaps possible for Yça to come to the fore in a way about which we are still not well informed. This brings us to the religious aspect.

We must assume that both works in the library of the Duke and Duchess of Plasencia dealt with religion. Works on Islam and refutations of Christianity could easily be interpreted as an attempt to proselytize, something for which Mudejars could be tried and convicted²⁶¹. The fact that Juan López de Salamanca belonged to the faction of Alfonso may indicate that there is some sort of connection between the polemic with Yça and the opposition against Enrique. It can hardly be a coincidence that Yça's works were found in the library of one of the most powerful supporters of Alfonso's cause.

IV.7. YÇA GIDELLI

In this last section I will try to present as coherent as possible a picture of Yça's life and work, although what will follow can hardly deserve to be called biography: the only certain data we know all lie between 1454 and 1462.

IV.7.1. *Biographical data*

We do not know when Yça was born or when he died, but there are some indications about his age in 1455. According to Juan de Segovia Yça Gidelli wished to leave Aiton as soon as possible in 1456 because he had recently married²⁶². Since Juan de Segovia still did not know Arabic very well and wished to learn more, Yça apparently promised him to try to persuade his brother, who was also a *faqīh*²⁶³ and who was not married yet, to come to Ai-

²⁶¹ Cf. Labarta and García-Arenal, "Algunos fragmentos del proceso inquisitorial contra Yuçe de la Vaçía", *passim*.

²⁶² Vat. Lat. 2923, f. 190v: "Ipso autem magistro, qui uxorem noviter nuptam dimiserat, ad recessum hinc festinante et secum translationem per eum scriptam reportare volente ...".

²⁶³ We have seen above (IV.2.3.) that in 1480 a certain Omar, *alfaquí* of Segovia, travelled to Granada in order to collect some Mudejars who had emigrated some years before. Is this Yça's brother?

ton²⁶⁴. Juan de Segovia also states that already in 1455 Yça Gidelli was very famous among the Castilian Mudejars. At that time, as we will see below, he was probably *alcalde* and *faqīh* of the Mudejar *aljama* of Segovia and although he only completed the *Breviario Sunni* in the year 1462 some parts of that Romance work, such as the *Thirteen Articles*, had come into existence by 1455. Perhaps he had already written other religious works as well. As we have seen above, the polemic with Juan López de Salamanca had probably not yet taken place by then, for had that been the case one would have expected Juan de Segovia to have referred to it somewhere. From all this evidence the strong impression emerges that we are dealing with a man who was perhaps in his forties in 1460, which in turn leads us to 1420 as an approximate birth-date. Epalza writes that he is able to prove that el Mancebo de Arévalo was a contemporary of Yça Gidelli after 1465, but gives no evidence²⁶⁵. With regard to the date of his death we may wonder whether the fact that he wrote an anti-Christian work which was refuted by one of the well-known theologians of his time did not have drastic consequences, possibly even death, but this is mere speculation. The fact is that we lose all trace of him after 1462.

IV.7.2. *Name*

The man whom we have called Yça Gidelli in the present thesis is referred to in the different versions of the introduction to the *Breviario Sunni* referred to as follows:

N 1: Yça Jedih.

J 1: ʿĪsā de Jebir (sic!).

J 60: Hice de Xebir.

N 2: Yçe de Chebir.

S 3: - (lacks the preface).

The *colophons* of the *Breviario Sunni* on the other hand read:

²⁶⁴ Juan de Segovia writes in the preface to the translation of the Qur'ān (Vat. Lat. 2923, f. 191): "Sed dum recessit, salarii recepta conferta atque coagitata mensura, promisit acturum se ut frater eius qui alphaquinius etiam erat nec uxore ligatus, venturus ad me foret, docturus me usque ad perfectum arabicum ydeoma".

²⁶⁵ Epalza, "A modo de introducción", p. 16.

N 1: el onrrado y discreto sabidor Hihça Chedic alfaqui y mufti mayor de los moros de Castilla, alimen del muy onrrado alchamah de Segovia;

J 1: el onrrado i diskreto Ika Shādīl, alfaqī i muftī mayor de los moros de Kastilla, alimām de los onrrados alḥama'a de los moros de Segobi'a;

J 60: el onrrado y discreto don Hiçe de Xebir alfaqui y muftti mayor de los muçilimes de la noble çiuḍad de Sogobia;

N 2: el onrrado sabidor don Yce de Chebir, mufti y alfaqui mayor de los muçilimes de Castilla alimen de la muy onrrada alchama de Segobia;

S 3: el sabidor Yçe de xebir mufti alfaqui mayor de los muçilimes de Castilla, alimem de la onrrada alxama'a de Segobia.

As we have seen, N 1 and J 1 are the most original versions of the *Breviario Sunni* and whereas J 60, N 2 and S 3 give his name all five times as Yçe de Gebir, N 1 and J 1 give three times Isa Shadil and Yçe de Gebir once. These different readings may be explained as follows. In the letter to Juan de Segovia of 24 April 1454, the most authentic extant evidence, the name of our *faqīh* is spelled Yca Gidelli. The books in the inventory of 1468 refer to him as Yca Guidili. Gil González Dávila refers to him as Iza Ghidilhi and Iza Cidili. From this it can be concluded that all contemporary evidence demonstrates that his name was Yça and his *nisba* something which included a 'sh' and a 'd'. From this *nisba* have been derived the forms Yça Jedih (the final h is probably a scribal error; li was read as h) and Ika Shādīl (J 1). The name Ika (J 1) is probably a transcription error of the form Iça in a Latin character MS²⁶⁶. The -i ending of the *nisba* has either been dropped in the form Shādīl or is to be explained as the consequence of some corruption. Although this dropping of the -i ending in Spanish Arabic is not mentioned by Steiger or Corriente, it is not unlikely that such a process has been at work, as appears from the fact that al-Ghazālī is known in the West as Algazel²⁶⁷.

In the works of el Mancebo de Arévalo Yça is mentioned explicitly only once, namely in the *Tafsira* (f. 309r):

²⁶⁶ Cf. Cabanelas Rodríguez, *op.cit.*, pp. 152-3.

²⁶⁷ Steiger, *Contribución a la fonética del hispano-árabe y los arabismos en el ibero-románica y el siciliano*, pp. 332-346; Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle*, *passim*.

I dirán los malos: O, si fuéramos animales, cómo nos tornamos ti^yerra i no bi^yeranos estos espantos y aún estarán por benir los tormentos i penalidades. Aún no sonará el p^regón cheneral de la difiniççión ku^wando los malos awullaron komo fi^yeras. Dize don ‘Isā’ [sic], mmusti [sic] del aljama^a de Segobi^a: saldarán las yentes deste siglo ku^wando Allah kerrá.

The *nasab* De Gebir is only found in the ‘adapted’ versions of J 60/ N 2 S 3 and once in the prologue of J 1. It seems very likely that the copyist of J 1, a MS from the Almonacid collection, derived this reading from the adapted tradition, for in the colophon of his work we again have the original reading Ika *Shādīl*. De Gebir is therefore probably a corruption introduced by the ‘adapters’ of the *Breviario Sunni*.

The most likely explanation of the *nisba* Guidili/Cidili is that it was derived from al-*Shādhilī*, “member of the *Shādhilīyya tariqa*”. Classical Arabic a (the first vowel) has become i (*imāla*)²⁶⁸. The *nisba* al-*Shādhilī* seems noteworthy, as Labarta does not mention *nisbas* connected with *turuq* in her study of onomastics²⁶⁹. But a similar form, Xedel, is also to be found in a document from Valladolid in which a certain Brahen Xedel is mentioned. The document dates from 1413²⁷⁰.

His *kunya* may have been Abū ‘l-Ḥasan. In the *Breve Compendio* by el Mancebo de Arévalo and Baray de Rremindjo we read: “Dize Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ke la primera edad fue nuestro padre Edam hasta Nūḥ, i desde Nūḥ hasta Ibrāhīm...”²⁷¹. Here a fragment of the *Breviario Sunni* is cited²⁷². In view of el Mancebo de Arévalo’s use of sources this evidence must be interpreted with great caution (see chapter V.3.).

IV.7.3. *Social position and career*

In a discussion of Yça Gidelli’s social position a distinction will have to be made between contemporary and later evidence as well. From the final phrase of the colophon of N 1 (*conbengalo el señor a su santo servicio*, which corresponds to Arabic *wafaqahu Allāh*,

²⁶⁸ Corriente, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-25.

²⁶⁹ Labarta, *La Onomástica de los Moriscos Valencianos*, p. 118 ff. Labarta mentions a ‘Xedel’, however, in the index of her study.

²⁷⁰ Archivo de la catedral Valladolid, 3-43F. With thanks to Dr. A. Rucquoi (Madrid).

²⁷¹ f. 6v (apud: Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, vol. 2, p. 64).

²⁷² Cf. *edition*, p. 401.

an expression only used for a person who is still alive), it appears that the colophon was written before Yça's death. However, from the *epitheta* used here and in the introduction ("*el onrrado, discreto sabidor*") it appears that the colophons (and the MSS) in their present form were elaborated by a second person. Thus we cannot be sure which of the titles and offices mentioned in it are correctly ascribed to him. In chapter VI.1. it will be demonstrated that the colophons of the *Breviario Sunni* are in every respect exceptional. Moreover, all MSS of the *Breviario Sunni* date from the 16th century, as we have seen above. Therefore, some phrases of the colophon may have been added or changed long after Yça had died.

The earliest and probably most authentic evidence we have is the letter to Juan de Segovia of April 1454 discussed above, in which Yça calls himself *Alphaquinus Yca Gidelli, in civitate Segobiensi interpres et elocutor (?) sancti alchoran*. Although *interpres* could be interpreted as the office of interpreter in the service of the King, it is more likely that the structure of the sequence is *interpres sancti alchoran et elocutor sancti alchoran*, *interpres* being perhaps the Latin equivalent of *muftī* or *qāḍī*. From the word *elocutor*, 'speaker' -the word is not easily legible- it might be concluded that Yça was a reciter, or a *muqri*, literally: someone who teaches recital (of the Qur'ān), although the word might also be rendered as "man learned in Qur'ānic science". The term *elocutor* is interesting in the light of the hypothetical origin of the *nisba* Gidelli, i.e. al-*Shādhilī*, for it is well known that recitation of the Qur'ān occupies an important place among the devotions of the *ṭuruq*²⁷³. Moreover, it also appears from the extant Aljamiado and Arabic MSS from Christian Spain that the *Shādhiliyya ṭarīqa* had many adherents there. There is an Aljamiado translation of the *Du'ā' bi 'l-asmā' al-ḥusnā* by Ibn 'Abbād al-Rundī (733/1332-729/1390), the famous *Shādhilī* mystic²⁷⁴. The well-known litany of *Shādhilī* origin, *ḥizb al-bahr*, exists in an Arabic manuscript from Christian Spain²⁷⁵, and the fact that al-*Ghazālī*'s works were widely read by Muslims resident in Christian Spain might, according to Hoenerbach, also

²⁷³ Schimmel, *Mystische Dimensionen des Islam*, pp. 49, 159.

²⁷⁴ Nwyia, *Un mystique prédicateur à la Qarawfyn de Fès*, p. 86 note 2 (Madrid, B.N. 5223, f. 24-33v. (= Saa 36, G.R. 115).

²⁷⁵ Hoenerbach, *Spanisch-Islamische Urkunden*, no. 47 (Madrid B.N. 4934/7 (G.R. 574); see also: idem, "Los Moriscos a la luz de sus documentos", p. 57 and plate 16.

point to the widespread existence of Sufi orders²⁷⁶. Finally, in his letter discussed above and the *Breviario Sunni* itself there is evidence to be found that its author was a Sufi. In the *Breviario Sunni* this appears from the emphasis on weeping as a sign of true repentance²⁷⁷.

Let us now examine the title *mufti*. In the inventory of the library of the Duchess of Arévalo of 1468 Yça Gidelli is already called *mofti de los moros de Segovia*. This is a *terminus ante quem* in the sense that from this it appears that already he was held in high esteem and recognized as *mufti* before that time. Unfortunately there is no evidence of *fatwās* given by him.

We have seen that the colophon of N 1/ J 1 calls him the chief *mufti* of the Castilian Mudejars (*mufti mayor de los moros de Castilla*). This is in many respects a puzzling title. First of all it seems to imply some sort of judicial separation between the Mudejars of the Kingdom of Castile and Aragon and Navarre, which is not confirmed in other sources. Moreover, it seems to imply that some sort of religious hierarchy in Castile existed in which Yça occupied the most important position. But there is no other evidence of the existence of such a structure. There may therefore be some confusion. Perhaps the use of this title should be explained as a strong influence of the office of *alcalde mayor de todos los aljamas de moros de Castilla*. This would imply that the title *mufti mayor de los moros de Castilla* in particular expresses the high esteem in which Yça was held.

From other sources it appears that Yça Gidelli was probably *alcalde* of Segovia for some time. The Archive of Sepúlveda, a village in the vicinity of Segovia, preserves a letter by an *alcalde mayor*, Muhammad b. Yūsuf al-Qaysī, who allowed the Mudejars of Sepúlveda to consult 'his' *alfaques y alcales* (*faqīh* and *alcalde*) of Segovia, 'don Isa', instead of the candidate proposed by him for the *alcalde*-ship of Sepúlveda, don Ali de Montejo²⁷⁸. Yça's *alcalde*-ship of Segovia is confirmed by an inscription, which will be dealt with below, so that it seems certain that in 1455 he held the office of *alcalde* of the *aljama*. As the letter shows he was at

²⁷⁶ EI s.v. al-*Shādhilī* [art. D. S. Margiolouth]; cf. Van Koningsveld, *Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts from Christian Spain*, appendix, nos. 7, 14, 33, 55, 57, 62, 66; Hoenerbach, "Los Moriscos a la luz de sus documentos", p. 57.

²⁷⁷ N 1, f. 65r; *edition*, pp. 275, 411, cf. Schimmel, *Mystische Dimensionen*, pp. 56, 584.

²⁷⁸ Sáez, *Collección diplomática de Sepúlveda*, I, (1076-1454), pp. 534-38. Sáez incorrectly reads 'don Içam'.

that time subordinate to the *alcalde mayor*. It is likely that he was *faqih* and *imām* of the *aljama* between 1455 and 1462. This appears from his letter to Juan de Segovia and from the colophon of the *Breviario Sunni*. It therefore seems certain that Yça Gidelli was involved in the problems concerning the jurisdiction of the *alcalde mayor*, which eventually led Enrique IV to grant the *aljama* the privilege of submitting lawsuits to the *justicia ordinaria*. This indicates that he may still have had the office of *alcalde* when the *aljama* refused to recognize the *alcalde mayor* any longer. Although this episode unfortunately remains in the dark it seems clear that his prestige only increased after 1455 since, if we accept the testimony of the colophon of the *Breviario Sunni*, he was still 'the' *faqih* and *imām* of the *aljama* in 1462. In 1462 he also says that the *repartidores* are to be reckoned among his friends in the introduction to the *Breviario Sunni*. It seems significant that he also states explicitly that the *repartidores*, the official body of representatives of the Mudejars, urged *him* to write this work. This explains perhaps partly why this text became so influential. But by writing the *Breviario Sunni*, and mentioning the *repartidores* in it, he also might have appeared to the Mudejar public as someone close to this council and to the official hierarchy. However, it appears that in reality Yça Gidelli was not identified with the official hierarchy in the eyes of the public. He was recognized as *mufti mayor de los moros de Castilla* while the offices of his that were remembered were his *faqih*-ship and *imām*-ship of the *aljama* of Segovia. No mention was made of his earlier *alcalde*-ship.

Let us now turn to another aspect of Yça Gidelli's social position. We have seen that the members of the council of *repartidores* and the *alcalde mayor* also had other everyday professions or means of livelihood. We frequently come across Mudejars who were master builders or who held similar positions of importance, the aforesaid Hamet Carreton and Maestre Lope, for example, and, as will be seen below, Yça Gidelli himself may have been involved in construction work carried out for Enrique IV. Below the ceiling in Mudejar style of the throne hall of Enrique IV in the Alcázar of Segovia the following inscription is to be found:

Esta cuadra mandó faser el muy alto e muy poderoso ilustre senor el rrey don Enrique el quarto, la qual se acabó de obrar en el anno del nascimiento de nuestro senor Jesu Cxpto. de mill e quatrocientos e cinquenta e seis

annos, estando el señor rrey en la guerra de los moros, quando ganó á Ximena²⁷⁹, la qual obra fiso por su mandado Francisco de Avila mayordomo de la obra, seyendo alcaide Pero de Muncharas criado del rrey: la qual obra ordenó e obró maestro Xadel alcaide²⁸⁰.

The inscription mentions the name of Maestro Xadel at the end of an enumeration of names and professions of various individuals, the first of whom is Francisco de Avila, *mayordomo de la obra*, and the second Pedro de Muncharas, *alcaide*. It follows that the word *alcalde* indicates the position or status of the person mentioned last, whose name was Xadel. Xadel is probably al-Shādhilī which is, as we have seen above, very likely the *nisba* of Yça. Assuming that the person mentioned in this inscription is indeed Yça Gidelli, we may wonder, however, whether he was actually involved as a master builder. We know that he stayed in Savoy between December 1455 and March 1456 and that the conquest of Ximena mentioned in the inscription also took place in 1456. There may be another explanation too.

This inscription in which the name of a Mudejar is mentioned in such a conspicuous way is, to the best of my knowledge, unparalleled in Christian Spain. It is a demonstration of the good relations between the Mudejars of Segovia and Enrique's court. This is confirmed by the evidence discussed above. Enrique allowed the *aljama* of Segovia to be independent from the jurisdiction of the *alcalde mayor*. Unfortunately we were unable to date that event, but we might speculate that there existed some sort of connection between the construction of this ceiling and Enrique's benevolent Mudejar policy which led them to construct this ceiling, naming as a symbol of their good relations with the king their religious leader: the *alcalde*, *faqīh* and *muftī* Yça Gidelli.

IV.7.4. Religious convictions

Juan de Segovia also says that Yça Gidelli worked in Aiton 12 hours a day, except for the day on which the birthday of the prophet Muhammad was celebrated, the *mawlid al-nabi*²⁸¹. Not

²⁷⁹ Mentioned by Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica de Enrique IV*, vol 1, p. 88.

²⁸⁰ Cited in Tormo y Monzó, *Album cromolitográfico de la decoración de las salas regias del alcázar de Segovia*, p. 2.

²⁸¹ On the celebration of the *mawlid* in the Maghrib until the end of the 15th century see: Kaptein, *Muhammad's Birthday Festival*, pp. 76-166.

much can be deduced from this. We know that Yça Gidelli arrived on the 5th of December and stayed for four months. December 5th 1455 coincides with 24 *Dhū'l-hijja* 859. From the extant calendars from among the Mudejars and Moriscos the following can be deduced. On 10 Muharram °*Āshūrā* was celebrated (“dos días de pascua y fiesta el noveno y el dezeno y el onzeno y se celebra sus dias con azalaes de gracia y son quatro añefilas”). *Ṣafar* knew no festivals. The *mawlid* was celebrated on 12 *Rabīʿ I* (“nacio nuestro gran caudillo Muhamed, y se celebra su noche con alegria, con claredad y limpieza, ... en cuya ynsignia su aluma, encienden lumbres y velas ...”). Yça Gidelli was thus still in Aiton on 12 *Rabīʿ I* 860, which corresponded to 19 Februari 1456. This implies that he stayed in Savoy during *Muharram*, *Ṣafar* and *Rabīʿ I* and II.

Yça appears to have been very precise in observance of the law. In a letter written to an unknown friend dated 18 April 1458 Juan de Segovia writes:

but in accordance with what I had heard, he was in everything used to modesty, so that during the whole period of fasting and the days of abstinence, during which he used to eat food at home, he never drank wine, and never did so during his whole life. When one day he was served a puré of peas, prepared as customary with wine a little, he, upon noticing this, the next day only ate bread in the evening by way of penance ...²⁸².

This information confirms that Yça was a pious Muslim and that he may have belonged to the *Shadhiliyya ʿarīqā*; the *mawlid* was in particular celebrated in mystical circles.

²⁸² Vat. Lat. 2923, f. 197v: “At ille, iuxta quod accepi, prout fuerat nutritus, omni modestia usus est, ut per totam quadragesimam et diebus ieiuniorum, quibus domus cibariis utebatur, nunquam, sicut et per totam vitam suam, bibens vinum. //f. 198r// Cum vero die uno ministratum ei fuerit de porrea pisorum, ut moris modico preparata vino, notitia habita die sequenti, panem in vesperam solum comedit velut penitentiam agens ...”, apud Cabanelas Rodríguez, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-41.

CHAPTER FIVE

YÇA'S INFLUENCE ON ISLAMIC SPANISH LITERATURE

V.1. INTRODUCTION

As I mentioned in chapter I, Harvey demonstrated that there is a continuous literary tradition from the Romance works of Yça Gidelli to Romance works by authors who were active at the beginning of the 17th century, such as the Aragonese writers Mohanmad Devera and Muḥammad Rabadan¹. In this section we will examine the nature and significance of this literary tradition. On the basis of the new evidence regarding Yça's works we will try to establish in what way they were taken up by his successors and examine whether they were simply copied out or also improved, and whether later authors based themselves on the adapted version of the *Breviario Sunni* or also on the more original one. Did Yça's polemic with Juan López de Salamanca leave any traces in Islamic Spanish literature, moreover, and, finally, did Yça's influence come to an end with the expulsion, or was his work also available to Moriscos in the diaspora?

Two problems will be left aside: (a) Harvey's hypothesis that the entire corpus of Islamic Spanish literature shows Yça's influence, assuming that the translation of the Qur'ān provided the model of all later translations into Spanish of *tafsīr* as well as other religious writings, and (b) the influence of Yça's translation of the Qur'ān and the '*tafsīr*' upon later works.

With respect to (a): it cannot be denied that the language of Islamic texts in Romance shows the influence of Arabic morphology and syntax to such an extent that it is in many respects a *calque* language², but precisely for that reason this hypothesis can only be verified by comparing the language of Yça's translation of the Qur'ān and the *tafsīr* with Islamic Spanish texts written or translated by other Mudejar and Morisco authors.

¹ Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, p. 437 ff.

² López-Morillas, "Hispano-semitic calques and the context of translations", *passim*.

With respect to (b): the study of the influence of the translation and the *tafsīr* would require an exhaustive discussion of the extant Spanish and Aljamiado *tafsīr* MSS. The discussion of both problems is far beyond the scope of the present study.

In the introduction we said that the greatest part of Islamic Spanish literature consists of translations from Arabic into Spanish and it appeared that one category of translations, namely that of paraenetic works such as the *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* by Abū 'l-Layth al-Samarqandī, was particularly popular among the Muslims in Christian Spain. Harvey calls the Islamic Spanish equivalent of this genre the 'religious treatises', which he characterizes as follows:

These religious treatises combine the functions of prayer manuals and dissertations on dogma, and also contain much of the material found in the *miscellanea* such as histories of the prophets etc.³ ... This *genre* of works is a significant development in the literary culture of the Moriscos. All other works are either translations from the Arabic, imperfect representations of Arabic models in *aljamía*, or else rudimentary *opuscula* which go no further than to provide the most elementary instruction in Muslim devotions. The treatises of the 'school of the Mancebo de Arévalo' differ in that they manifest a desire by the Moriscos to arrest the process of desintegration and fragmentation and to make a synthesis in *aljamía* of the materials of Islamic culture which had survived in Spain⁴.

According to Harvey these original compositions in Romance are the *Breve Compendio de la santa ley i sunna* (Saa 132), the *Tafsira* (J 62), the *Sumario de la relación y ejercicio espiritual* (Saa 13) and the *Tratado y Declaración y Guía para seguir y mantener el addīn del alislām* (Saa 26). All these works are preserved in unique MSS which are all written in Aljamiado. The first one, the *Breve Compendio*, was written by el Mancebo de Arévalo in collaboration with a *faqīh* from Cadrete, Baray de Rremindjo. The *Tafsira* and the *Sumario* are attributed to el Mancebo alone. Regarding the *Tratado* Harvey assumes that this work might have been written by el Mancebo de Arévalo as well⁵.

Since Harvey wrote the lines quoted progress has been made in the study of the works of el Mancebo. The *Sumario* and the *Tafsira* have been the subject of doctoral theses by Fonseca Antuña and Narváez, and it is the former who discovered that one of the main

³ Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, p. 311.

⁴ Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, p. 312.

⁵ Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, pp. 364, 439 note 5.

sources of the *Sumario* is Thomas à Kempis' *De Imitatione Christi*. This discovery has had important consequences for the study of the works of el Mancebo de Arévalo.

I will begin the examination of Yça's influence with the *Tratado y Declaración y Guía*. Then the works of el Mancebo de Arévalo will be examined. Since it is also beyond the scope of the present work to discuss in full detail the works of el Mancebo de Arévalo I will focus on two aspects: his relationship with the works of Yça Gidelli and the nature of his Islamic learning. The work of Mohanmad Devera and Muḥammad Rabadan will be studied next. Finally, attention will be devoted to Yça's influence on Spanish texts written in the diaspora, or, rather, to the reasons why such influence is virtually absent.

V.2. THE *TRATADO Y DECLARACIÓN Y GUÍA*

The importance of the unique MS (Madrid, B.N. 5252 (Saa 26; G.R. 77) of this text which may be considered one of the most outstanding pieces of Islamic Spanish learning largely escaped the attention of earlier students of Spanish Islamic literature. Saavedra described it as follows:

Código en 4º. de papel flojo, muy carcomido y remendado de antiguo, sin tapas. Letra elegante, igual á la del Gg 40 [= Madrid, B.N. Res 245, Saa 13]. En una guarda hay apuntes de trigo dado á la familia de Ontiñena El autor da cuenta de su trabajo diciendo, fol. 3: "muchos amigos de mi trabaron y especialmente me rogaron que de arabi sacase en el ajemi del dicho alcorán y textos de xara lo que fuese á mi posible para que con lo dicho se siguiese nuestra santa ley y çunna", etc. Contiene la explicación de la fe, los ritos y los deberes, así religiosos como civiles y legales, concluyendo por las herencias, tutelas y testamentos, todo ilustrado con textos del Alcorán.

As we have seen above, Harvey tentatively connects this work with the writings of el Mancebo de Arévalo on paleographical grounds and also draws attention to the fact that it contains Yça's *Thirteen Articles*⁶. Kontzi published the first 7 folios of this MS, transcribing the text and adding text-critical remarks. He did not give a

⁶ Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, p. 311.

study of the text itself⁷. López-Morillas studied the second chapter (*Kapítulo de la deklaraci^on de al-ḥamdulillāh*)⁸.

Analysis

The purpose of the treatise is stated in the preface as follows:

Este es un t^ratado de todo lo ke konbi^oene para enkaminar a los inorantes al bu^oen kamino i^o-el-addīn ber/dadero, ansi de lo ke el muçlim ti^oene neçeçidad para konoçer i serbir a su Señor i saber ke kosa es ḥalāl i ḥarām i^o-a ke está obligado, i tanbi^oen dek^olarar las erençi^oas para ke kada uno llebe //f 3v // su derecho i siga la ççunna i rregla de nu^oest^oro mesajero Muḥammad, ş^om^o.

These lines suggest that the following text will show some sort of consistency. This is indeed noticeable, although the present MS is very clearly incomplete. The text can be divided into two parts. The first part is a paraenetic treatise which explains the doctrine of faith and takes up (without identifying these sources verbatim) the second *al-murshida* of Ibn Tūmart and several parts of the *Breviario Sunni*, including the *Thirteen Articles*. These folios are published in appendix 5. From f.34v onwards the *‘ibādāt* are dealt with, focusing in particular on the significance of the pillars of Islam (*arkān al-islām*). On f. 65v the text suddenly breaks off. Then two blank folios follow and on f. 66v the text continues with a “kapítulo de las erençi^oas i komo se an de partir”. The explanation of the rules of succession continues up to the end of the MS (f. 107r), until this section suddenly breaks off as well. There is no colophon and no author is mentioned. The watermarks seem to indicate that the MS dates from the second half of the 16th or beginning of the 7th century¹⁰. The whole manuscript seems to be written in the same hand which, as Saavedra has stated, very much resembles the handwriting of the unique MS of a work of el Mancebo de Arévalo, the *Sumario* (Madrid B.N. Res. 245). At the

⁷ *AT*, vol 2, pp. 877-885. Kontzi followed one of the older foliations of the MS. Here, the most recent foliation is followed.

⁸ “La oración”, *passim*.

⁹ *Tratado*, f. 3r.

¹⁰ Watermark: Latin cross within a shield, with initials GA and BB. This watermark belongs to the group of watermarks in Briquet, nos. 5,677-5,702 dating from 1551 (no. 5698) until 1600 (nos. 5,690 and 5,692). Among the specimens shown by Briquet there is none with the initials mentioned above. Heawood has one watermark with initials BB (no. 955). It dates from 1618.

beginning the handwriting is small and precise, but it becomes somewhat larger and a little more careless towards the end.

We are not dealing with an autograph. This follows above all from the state of the Arabic quotations, which the scribe of Madrid B.N. 5252 apparently did not understand very well. I have left the Arabic quotations unchanged in appendix 4, emending them in the notes. The assessment that the MS is a later copy leads us to the question of to what extent the original treatise underwent changes. On the one hand a combination of an explanation of the inheritance laws and a paraenetic treatise is not very common: the only place where both parts of the MS are connected is in the aforesaid passage of the preface. It is therefore possible that a later adaptor of the text inserted the remark on the inheritance laws as well as the chapter itself. On the other hand, there is historic evidence that authors such as Yça were involved both in writing paraenetic works as well as in dividing inheritances. In the 15th-century letter by the *alcalde mayor* Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Qaysī to the village of Sepúlveda, mention was made of problems concerning the division of inheritances¹¹. As we have seen, the *alcalde mayor* wrote that the Mudejars in that neighbourhood should consult his *alfaques e alcalles* of Segovia, don Isa, whom we have identified as Yça Gidelli. Yça therefore dealt with these particular inheritance problems as well. But is Yça the author of the *Tratado y Guía y Declaración*? I will attempt to answer this question on the basis of an examination of the first chapters. The contents of these chapters can be summarized as follows.

In the preface (f. 4r) the reasons for compiling this work are described:

I pu^{es} por la misma rraçón los ke oy biben i por ti^{en}pos bebirán por g^araçi^a de Allāh, ta^cālā, an perdido las luzes y-esku^welas y-el^carabi i por esta mesma rraçón muchos amigos míos de mi t^rabaron i^y-espeçialmente

¹¹ "... por quanto me fué dicho e querellado que non tenían allí alcalde moro, e desde que finavan algunos moros e moras de y del lugar e dexavan fijos menores de hedat, que non avie y juez moro para que viesse lo que fincava del tal finado o finada para que oviesen el marido o la muger su parte e a los fijos menores todo lo al que les pertenesçia aver por fin de su padre o de su madre, e que acaesçia quel dicho padre o madre que fincava con todos los bienes de los menores e que los davan aquel o aquella con quien casava, en guisa que quando los menores de tales como estos eran de hedat, que non fallavan cosa de lo que heredaron de su padre o de su madre; e diz que por çinco maravedís o más o menos que devía qualquier moro de los que y moravan, uno y otro que buscavan juez por esa tierra e si lo podían aver, si non que los dexavan perder", (Sáez, *Colección diplomática de Sepúlveda*, p. 161).

me rrogaron ke de ʿarabigo sakase en-aljemi del dīcho alqurʿān i testos de *ṣharʿa*, lo ke fuʿese a mī posible para ke kon lo dicho se sigiʿese nuʿestʿra muy santa ley i çunna, porke de akello todo buʿen muçlim debe usar sobre ke yo no me pude eskusar de hazer su mandamiʿento konfiando en-el rrey¹² soberano akel ke ayuda a los buʿenos, al kuʿal rruʿego por su infenita bondad me enkamine //f. 4v// i me ayude a sakar una tal kopilaç-iʿón tʿrayendo a la memoriʿa los artíkulos i mandamiʿentos, no olvidando el pʿesente i bʿrebe fin d-este pʿesente siglo akordándonos de el último dīʿa del judiçíʿo.

In this fragment the loss of the ‘lights’, the schools, and the Arabic language are the reason why friends of the author (it is not specified who these friends are) have asked him to translate from the Qurʿān and other “texts of the *Ṣharʿa*” into Romance and compile a work which might enable the Mudejars to follow the Law and the *Sunna*. These lines are nearly identical with the corresponding phrases in the introduction to the *Breviario Sunni* (see appendix 2), but even though the author warns us that it is imminent, no mention is made in the rest of this work of the signs which are to herald the Day of Judgement. This is another indication that we are dealing with an incomplete MS.

(1) “Kapítulo pʿrimero de komo dekʿlara lo ke para este pʿesente siglo konbiʿene” (f. 4r line 9). The “fʿlakos de çenciʿa”, the weak in knowledge, who are not able to preserve the treasure that is the Qurʿān, i.e. those who do not manage to learn to recite the Qurʿān, are allowed to console themselves with reciting *sūrat al-fātiḥa* many times.

(2) “Kapítulo de la dekʿlaraciʿón de al-ḥamdulillah” (f. 6r line 2). The theme which is elaborated on in this chapter is very popular in devotional writings: that of the *ṣalāt* (in this case *sūrat al-fātiḥa*) as a dialogue between man and God¹³. Based on a well-known *Ḥadīth*, the theme can also be found in other basic Malikite works on *fiqh*, for example in Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī’s *Risāla*¹⁴ and, more elaborately in al-Tulayṭulī’s *Mukhtaṣar*¹⁵, though from a comparison it appears clearly that the author of the *Tratado* did not

¹² Cf. *Breviario Sunni*, N 1, which instead of *rrey* gives the word *bien*. It is unlikely that the Castilian king is meant here.

¹³ See: Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, 11, (d) *munājāt*.

¹⁴ Arabic text, p. 32 / translation, p. 33.

¹⁵ *La plegaria musulmana* (ed. Cervera Fras), f. 24r ff.

merely copy this section from al-Ṭulayṭulī. He may well have taken it from another source¹⁶.

(3) “Kapítulo de ke el muçlim ti’ene neçesidad para konoçer a Allāh, ta’alā, y-a lo ke está obligado para kunp’lir el-addīn” (f. 8v line 5).

This chapter starts with the translation of the second *al-murshida* by Ibn Tūmart. The text begins with the following words: “All Muslims know that the first article which every Muslim is obliged to know is that God is One in His reign”, etc. (“Sepan todos los muçlimes kel p’rimer artíkulo k-el muçlim está obligado es ke se konoçka ke Allāh es uno en su rre’ismo solo”). This implies, as we have said above, that the *al-murshida* is here in the position of the first of the *Thirteen Articles*. On f. 9r the *Tratado* continues with another passage directed against Christianity and enumerates several religious commandments.

(4) “Kapítulo de la temORIZAR al muçlim para konoçer a Allāh, çubhānahu” (f. 11r line 17). This chapter deals with the terrors of the Afterlife, the questioning in the grave, and the Day of Judgment. The theme is elaborated on in this chapter with quotations from the Qur’ān and *Ḥadīth*.

(5) “Kapítulo para dek’alarar sumar’amente la deskere’ença” (f. 15v line 12). This is a polemical chapter, containing a refutation of Christian and Jewish beliefs.

(6) “Kapítulo para reformar más el-addīn del-aliçlām i ber el engaño del desk’re’ente” (f. 19r line 3).

This is a short chapter which explains why the Unbelievers do not believe the message of Islam.

(7) “Kapítulo p’rimero (sic) de los p’rīncipales mandami’entos del addīn del-aliçlām” (f. 20v line 12).

This chapter is identical with chapter one of the edition of the *Breviario Sunni*, though quotations from the Qur’ān and *Ḥadīth* have here been inserted in the text.

¹⁶ This chapter cannot be found in the works of el Mancebo de Arévalo. See on this chapter also López-Morillas, “La oración”, *passim*.

(8) “Kapítulo ke kosa es el verdadero a(l)ddīn i komo el onb^{re} debe salbar su a(l)rrūh” (f. 24r line 14).

This chapter corresponds to chapter two of the *Breviario Sunni*.

(9) “Kapítulo de los artíkulos ke el onb^{re} a de k^{re}er y de tener por fe i p^{re}çeto” (f. 25v line 3).

This chapter corresponds to the third chapter of the *Breviario Sunni*.

From then on the order of the text becomes less clear. The *‘ibādāt* are explained according to the usual order of books on *fiqh*. Here examples are given which were taken from the *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* indicating, for example, who performed the *ṣalāt al-zuhr* for the first time, etc. In it the following chapters are found: “kapítulo del-alwadū” (f. 35v), “el aṣṣala es el pilar ...” (f. 36v), and “el terçero pilar es el mes de ramadan” (f. 59r). It includes two passages which deserve to be discussed briefly. In the first passage the explanation of the *zakāt* is not completed. This is explained by the circumstances on “this island” (*esta isla*). The passage in question reads as follows:

En ku^wanto el-azzakā no es menester detenernos en-esp^{li}kar todo su derecho, pu^wes en-esta isla, por la g^araçī^a de Allāh, aunke se adebdó no obliga a pagarlo, pu^wes no ay rrey ke pele^e en fī sabili illāhi para ke logaste, porke para akello fu^we mandado. A se de gastar por bu^wena regla por onb^{res} muy bu^wenos en-onrra del rrey o en kitar katibos i mantener el-addīn. Lo ke konbi^{ene} en esta isla es pagar elazzakā del alfitra kun//f. 57v//p^{li}ido el dayuno del mes de ramadān, komo at^rās abemos dicho, i rrepartirlo kon bu^wen orden a los pobres i meçkinos si^{er}bos de Allāh i no vender ninguna kosa dello, sino ke fu^wese por las kondiçiones arriba dichas, ke fu^wese para mantener el-addīn o aḥorrar katibos sino ke se^a gu^wardado para los pobres i meçkinos...

It is very difficult to say whether the author is referring here to the Mudejar or the Morisco period, but fortunately the picture becomes much clearer in the second passage. He dwells here on the duty to assist at the *ṣalāt al-djum^a*, the Friday *ṣalāt*, in the mosque, where the *khutba* is normally given as well:

Pu^wes ya abemos dicho los çinko a(l)ṣṣalaes y-el walardón dellos. Diremos la ṣṣala del-aljumu^a [i] el walardón d-él, i lo ke konbi^{ene} desvelarse el-onb^{re} en hazer una tan alta obra. Mucho konbi^{ene} ke todo muçlim // f. 55v // no more muy lesos porke pu^wede alkançar donde se dize alhubat [sic] para laljumu^a, sino ke este a dos millas del lugar i çiwdad donde se dize

alḥuṭba, i para donde no la ubi⁹ere, komo en esta isla, todo muḡlim se pu⁹ede aparejar ku⁹ando la'ora de la ṣala del-aljumu'a se le rrepsi⁹enta; dejar todos los t'ratos i merkaderi⁹as i hazi⁹endas en akella ora i hazer el-aṣṣala del-aljumu'a: ku⁹atro a(l)rak⁹as...

There can be little doubt that this is a reference to Mudejar Spain. It would be very hard to imagine that Muslims who lived more than three miles from a village where the *ḡhuṭba* was given would be obliged to perform the *ṣalāt* this openly after 1525.

Finally, an example of the author's use of the Qur'ān will be given. The first text is the Qur'ān MS discussed above, T 235, including the glosses. Next the *Tratado* is quoted. We see that the author of the *Tratado* continues paraphrasing the Qur'ān, even when he does not say so explicitly. We also see that, although the author of the *Tratado* paraphrases rather than translates, the idiom of both versions is quite similar, so that either the same author wrote both texts, or the author of one of the texts made extensive use of the other. This is a strong indication that Yça Gidelli is the author of the *Tratado*. T 235, f. 67r-67v, reads:

...Y dirá Allah el día del juicio: ye yçe fijo de maryam, tu dixiste a las gentes de los de beni Yçrayla, tomad a mí y a mi madre por dos señores a menos de Allah. [116¹⁷] Dirá yçe: tan vendito eres tu. No era a mí en que dixese lo que no era a mí con verdad y si fue que lo dixes pues ya tu lo sabes. Sabes lo que es en mi persona y yo no se lo que es en tu persona, que tu eres sabidor de lo ausente. [117] No dixes a ellos sino lo que tu me mandaste con ello en que adorasen adallah mi señor que les dixes: adorad a mí señor y a vuestro señor y fueste tu sobrellos testigo mientras dure en ellos y quando me subiste al çielo fueste tu el reconsiderante sobrellos y tu eres sobre toda cosa testigo. [118] Pues si los quieres @adebar por su aturar en la descreyençia pues ellos son tus sierbos y si los quieres perdonar pues será por arepintençia, si hubo en ellos, pues tu eres el honrrado çiente en tus fechos. [119] Diçe allah: este es el día que apro-bechará a los verdaderos sus verdades. Abrá a ellos alchanna que corre debaxo della los rios. Serán perdurables en ella para siempre y apagase Allah de ellos y apagase ellos dél. Aquella es la salbaçión grande. [120] Ad allah es el reysmo de los çielos y de la tierra y lo que es en ellos y es sobre toda cosa poderoso.

Madrid, B.N. 5252:

En el mesmo dí'a del ku⁹ento dize Allāh: ye ̣İçā ibnu Maryam, tu as dīcho a las jentes ke tomen a tu y-a tu madre por señores a menos de Allāh. //f.

¹⁷ The numbers indicate the corresponding *āyas* of *sūra* 5.

18r// [116] Dirá ʿĪḩā: tan bendito eres tu, yā Señor, no es dado a mí otra kosa sino dezir verdad, enpero, Señor, si yo lo e dicho tu muy biʿen lo sabes porke tu, Señor, sabes lo ke está en mi persona i yo no se lo ke está en sus personas dellos iʿ-ello es ʿiʿerto ke tu sabes todo lo ke ellos enkobren i sekretan. [117] ... Yo no e dicho a ellos sino akello ke tu me as mandado kon ello en ke adoran Allāh mi señor i su señor i tu, yā se/ñor, es sobre ellos testigo. Yo me doy por kito dellos i tu, señor, me harás morir i serás tu, señor, el rrekonosedor sobrellos ke tu eres sobre toda kosa pʿre//f. 18v//sente. [118] Si los kerrás adebarlos ellos son tus / siʿerbos i si los kerrás perdonar, puʿes tu es el onrrado ʿiʿente. [119] Entonçes dirá Allāh: akeste dīʿa de oy apʿrobechará a los berdaderos i buʿenos kon buʿenas obras. A ellos les será dada aljanna, akella ke korren d-ella rriʿos de piʿedras pʿreçīʿosas perpetuamente en-ella kon nos ke se kontentará Allāh d-ellos iʿ-ellos d-él, porke akello es walardón i sastifaçīʿón gʿrande. [120] A Allāh es el rreismo de los ʿiʿelos i de las tiʿerras i de lo ke está en medyo d-ellas y-el es sobre toda kosa poderoso.

Conclusion

We are undoubtedly dealing with a very imperfect MS, completed at the end of the 16th century or the beginning of the 17th century. It may have undergone many changes in the course of time. It seems very unlikely that the author is el Mancebo de Arévalo. The text testifies to the fact that Arabic learning still existed in Christian Spain, and, as will be shown below, el Mancebo de Arévalo probably did not possess such learning. Moreover, the style of the work differs completely from that of the other works attributed to el Mancebo, as we will see in the next section. It was clearly meant as an aid for instructing common people. The original work probably partly served a paraenetic purpose, and partly dealt with the inheritance laws. To Mudejar and Morisco standards the author must have been a learned man. The quotations from the Qurʿān, to be found all through the first part of the MS were taken from the entire Qurʿān, not just from those parts which were commonly found in the sort of Spanish commentaries we have discussed above. Moreover, the author seems to have known the Tradition literature, from which he quotes freely¹⁸. This is remarkable, since we have no evidence of the study of *Ḥadīth* in Christian Spain. For all these reasons the work must be considered one of the most outstanding pieces of Islamic Spanish scholarship, as will become even clearer after comparison with the works of el Mancebo and later Morisco authors. It seems very likely, therefore, that Yça

¹⁸ See f. 6r, 12r, etc.

himself compiled it¹⁹. The main sources which we have been able to identify are the Qur'ān, the *Ḥadīth*, the *al-murshida* by Ibn Tūmart and the *Breviario Sunni*. The parallels with the *Breviario Sunni* are particularly striking. It seems very improbable that the citations were inserted in Yça's work by someone else. Moreover, the fact that no author is mentioned indicates that the *Tratado* is most likely a work by Yça.

V.3. THE WORKS OF EL MANCEBO DE ARÉVALO

V.3.1. *The Breve Compendio de la santa ley i sunna.*

According to the title page and the introduction one of the three works known to have been written by el Mancebo, the *Breve Compendio de la santa ley i sunna*, was written in collaboration with an Aragonese *faqīh*, Baray de Rremindjo. The unique Aljamiado MS of this text consists of 253 folios. It is preserved in the Cambridge University Library, shelfmark Dd 9.49, and dated on f. 67r in 1608. As we have seen above, this MS was studied by both Relandus and Durand. An extensive description of its contents is found in an article by Harvey²⁰.

From the table of contents it appears that the *Breve Compendio* follows the usual order of *fiqh* works, starting with the *ʿibādāt* and proceeding with the *muʿāmalāt*. According to the introductory words on the title page (which even precede the introduction on f. 1r ff.), the work was compiled by the

onrrado sabidor alfaqī [sic] del aljamaʿa [sic] de los muçlimes de Kadrete, ke se llamaba Baray de Rreminjo, kon akuʿerdo i ayuda de otros muchos ʿalimes muy doktos i faðalados²¹ de la nobleza deste rreyno de Aragón, y-en espeçiʿal kon ayuda de un mançebo eskolano, kastellano, natural de Arévalo, muy esperto y doktʿrinado en la lektura ʿarábiga, ebraika, gʿriʿega i latina, y-en la aljemiʿada muy laðino, segun el awtor lo rrelata en su prólogo ...²².

¹⁹ I have also dealt with the arguments in favour of that hypothesis in "Los manuscritos aljamiados como fuentes históricas", passim; "ʿĪsā b. Yābir and the origins of Aljamiado literature", pp. 172-5.

²⁰ "Un manuscrito aljamiado", pp. 58-64.

²¹ MS fasalados.

²² Title page, apud Harvey, "Un manuscrito", pp. 64-5.

But this title page was apparently written much later for, in the introduction of the *Breve Compendio*, the *faqīh* of Cadrete, Baray de Rremindjo, writes in the first person singular. In that introduction he tells us that he began the work about 1533, with the help of a young scholar from Castile:

Yo komençé esta obra ocho años despu^wés de la dicha konberçi^yón, kon ayuda de un eskolano²³ de bu^wena dokt^rina, abisado y de largo *sharḥe*²⁴; era natural de Arévalo, i dezi^ya ke su madre fu^we k^risti^yana beynte çinko años²⁵.

These few lines of the title page and the introduction to the *Breve Compendio* are all external contemporary information on el Mancebo de Arévalo²⁶. Fortunately el Mancebo intercalates personal accounts of his vicissitudes and of his discussions with Muslims, (crypto) Jews, and Christians in all his works. He tells us especially about his wide travels which brought him to the whole peninsula and perhaps even abroad²⁷. Before discussing el Mancebo's contribution to the *Breve Compendio* I will first of all dwell on the role of the alleged main author, the *faqīh* of the *aljama* of Cadrete, Baray de Rremindjo.

Baray de Rremindjo

The name Baray is not frequently found among the Moriscos. Harvey suggests that it might be the equivalent of Petrus²⁸. Be that as it may, it is clearly not a name of Muslim origin. Baray was the *faqīh* of Cadrete, probably the small village of Cadrete near Zaragoza. Harvey points out that the nature of the cooperation between the two authors of the *Breve Compendio* is not as clear as it seems in the introduction, in which Baray states in the first person singular that he has written the work in collaboration with

²³ This term was used particularly for those who had enjoyed education in a seminary!

²⁴ From Ar. *sharḥ* i.e. explanation, commentary. Here, the meaning of the word is probably 'learned, erudite'.

²⁵ *Breve Compendio*, f. 4v.

²⁶ According to Harvey Mancebo is a calque of Ar. *ʿābid*, and should be interpreted as "the devout man", i.e. of Arévalo. See Harvey, "Castilian 'Mancebo' as a calque of Arabic 'abd, or how the Mancebo de Arévalo got his name", p. 132, esp. note 9.

²⁷ Gayangos, "Language and Literature", mentioned a MS allegedly containing a "*Peregrinación del Mancebo de Arévalo*" in the Biblioteca Real in Madrid. This MS is no longer extant (if indeed it ever existed and was not identical with the present MS of the *Sumario*).

²⁸ *Lit. Cult.*, p. 371.

el Mancebo²⁹. Although we might conclude from the introduction that the present text was written by him, it appears from many asides and discursive passages in other parts of the *Breve Compendio* that the person speaking in the first person singular cannot be Baray de Rremindjo. In one of the personal accounts, for example, we read that “at that time my mother was in poor disposition, and I could not but return to Arévalo [viz. from Málaga where the person speaking here stayed at that time]”³⁰. The author of these lines can only have been el Mancebo, whose mother is known to have lived there. Moreover, whereas it is clear both from the *Breve Compendio* and the *Tafsira* that el Mancebo travelled widely, nothing of that nature is known of Baray de Rremindjo, although one passage in the introduction suggests that Baray had not always been in Cadrete. Here he recounts an event that took place in the year of the conversion (1525): a Christian friend, Fray Esteban Martel, about whom Baray says that he was “muy amigo de los moros deste rreyno”, had invited him to come to his father’s house “ke yo rresidi’a en la aljama’a de Kadrete en akella sazón”³¹. In the same passage Fray Esteban is reported to have discussed the consequences of the conversion with the author, and one is led to conclude that the discussion took place between Baray and Fray Esteban: “Despu^{es} de aber komido ent^{ramos} en el estudi^o de la kasa de su padre, i kon lagrimas me diso: ¿ke os pareçe, *señor Baray* [my italics], d-esta komotança i poka k’risti’andad ke an usado kon bosot^{ros}”? Before drawing any conclusions, however, we will examine the nature of the contribution of the second author.

El Mancebo de Arévalo

According to the title page of the *Breve Compendio* el Mancebo knew Latin, Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic. These assertions are repeated in the asides and personal accounts by el Mancebo himself, but these claims are not corroborated by the examples of such learning. Yet the degree of his ignorance varied. It is very likely that he did indeed know some Latin, and in this respect it is interesting that his mother should have been a Christian for 25 years. It might indicate that he had enjoyed a Christian education.

²⁹ *Lit. Cult.*, p. 370 ff.

³⁰ *Breve Compendio*, f. 174r, Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, p. 370.

³¹ *Breve Compendio*, f. 4r.

He probably knew no Hebrew (in the *Tafsira* he remarks on f. 124r: “Dizen los ebraykos: ‘kani autem ssenuss ominis’”³²), but what about his knowledge of Arabic? One the one hand he tells us that he had learned to recite the Qur’ān according to ‘Qalūn’ (one of the seven readings of the Qur’ān)³³, but on the other hand it appears that he was unaware of the rules of *īrāb*³⁴. In short, although he probably learned to recite the Qur’ān, it may be doubted whether he was able to consult Arabic sources. It is striking that there are very few quotations from the Qur’ān itself, or even Romance paraphrases of the Qur’ān in el Mancebo’s works³⁵, particularly since we have seen above, that at the end of the 15th-century Spanish Islamic works, including Yça’s *tafsīr*, had already come into being. One passage in the *Tafsira* (f. 315v) suggests that he had indeed consulted some Spanish *tafsīr* works:

Esta alāa [sic, read *alea*, from Ar. *āya*] dek^alara kómo ‘Isā’ [sic] dek^alaró a los de Banī Içrā’īla, komo beníya de partes de Allāh kon mensacheriyya y-aberdadeçiyýo el-attawrāt i denuçiyýo ke abíya de benir otro mensassero depu^wés d-él; i desgi^yarónse de suw *dicho* i lo tomaron por hejizero i por-eso dize el onrrado Alqur’ān: wa man aṭlama [sic]³⁶.

This is a paraphrase of *sūra* 61:6. The last words in Arabic are the beginning of the following *āya*, namely 61:7 (“wa man aṭlamu” etc.). This shows that el Mancebo indeed knew some Spanish *tafsīr* works or works in which these verses were cited³⁷.

El Mancebo de Arévalo probably earned a living as a digger, for on f. 89r of the *Breve Compendio* he enumerates the difficulties encountered by famous authors to write works of *tafsīr*, such as ‘al-Gazel’ (al-*Ghazālī*) and ‘Ka^b al-Ḥaber’ (Ka^b al-Aḥbār³⁸), and asks: “for if Ka^b al-Ḥaber could find no ford where to halt, and al-

³² This is probably a garbled citation of the *De Imitatione Christi*, Liber 3. 38: “proni enim sunt sensus hominis ad malum” (One’s senses lead one into evil actions).

³³ *Breve Compendio*, f. 174v.

³⁴ *Breve Compendio*, f. 76v.

³⁵ If the Qur’ān is said to be quoted it is not certain that this is indeed the case, for in the *Sumario* el Mancebo attributes sayings of Thomas à Kempis even to the Holy Book (e.g.: according to el Mancebo the Qur’ān states: “kaḏa viçip^o tend^rá su p^oropi^o tormento”, *Sumario*, f. 19v. This statement is not to be found in the Qur’ān, but in the *De imitatione Christi*, Liber 1, chapter 24, see Fonseca Antuña, *Sumario*, p. 24).

³⁶ The lines following these words are neither connected with the preceding words, nor are they a translation of the *āya*.

³⁷ The same passage is quoted in the *Tratado* (appendix 5), f. 19v ff.

³⁸ See EI² s.v. He was a converted Yemenite Jew, considered the oldest authority on Judaeo-Arabic traditions.

Gazel abandoned his *Tafsira* and Almora Bey desisted and all the rest ceased, because they were full of little learning, and were in agreement on this, what is a miserable digger (*asadonero*) to do, who knows how to chop wood in winter and mow hay in the summertime"? Here he is apparently referring to himself³⁹. It is also clear that other, richer, Muslims on several occasions provided for the payment of el Mancebo's travels in Spain⁴⁰. These travels brought him to Almagro, Arévalo, Avila, Cordoba, Astorga, Extremadura, Gandía, Granada, Jaén, Málaga, Ocaña, Requena, Ronda, Segovia, Toledo, Valencia and Zaragoza. In the introduction to the *Tafsira*, discussed below, we will see that according to his own testimony some even paid his *ḥadīdjī* (it is unknown whether he ever performed it).

It is not entirely clear to which period these travels should be dated. He tells us of a meeting in Aljazira del Conde with a certain °Alī Sarmiento, who had been a 'catedrático'⁴¹ in Granada. °Alī showed el Mancebo a document granting him (°Alī Sarmiento) freedom to travel. The document was signed by the Catholic Monarchs and dated Granada ("dada en el alqasar del Alhambra") 21 May 1499⁴².

From the above it can be concluded that part of the events related in the *Breve Compendio* probably took place before the conversion of the Mudejars of Aragon in 1525. Since el Mancebo was a Castilian himself he may have been included in the Castilian conversion edict of 1502. It indeed appears that he sometimes passed as a Christian. Referring to his experience in Jaén he says that he confessed three times the same day:

Akonteçi'ome en Jaén, por hazer p'reba d-esto [viz. the cases in which a priest might grant absolution], p'robar tres rrelikos k'risti'yanos en un díya, y en-un mismo pekado i kada uno de ellos me di'o su jenero de absoluçi'ón⁴³.

A major problem of the works of el Mancebo de Arévalo is the identification of the sources on which his works were based. These are almost invariably indicated with names such as Qatāda (a well-known transmitter of Traditions), Umar Bey, Ka'b al-Ḥaber, Ben

³⁹ *Lit. Cult.*, pp. 390-1.

⁴⁰ Harvey, "El Mancebo de Arévalo", p. 31.

⁴¹ This may imply that he had taught in the *madrasa*.

⁴² See Harvey "Un Manuscrito", pp. 72-3, *Breve Compendio*, f. 244r-v.

⁴³ *Breve Compendio*, f. 217r, cf. Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, p. 384.

‘Arabi (sic, probably a reference to the famous mystic Muhyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī), Muḥammad de Algazel (probably al-Ḡhazālī), and works indicated with generic terms such as *los annales de los antiguos, el dichado de los annabīes* and *la decretança melikiya*⁴⁴. Fonseca has discovered recently that all these names in the *Sumario* concealed a single source, the *De Imitatione Christi* by Thomas à Kempis. This implies that in his other works el Mancebo de Arévalo is unlikely to have quoted accurately, but that he attached the names of all sorts of well-known Muslim authorities to statements which he derived from other, even non-Muslim sources. One example may suffice to illustrate this. In the *Sumario* he tells us: “Dice Ben ‘Arabī: todas las cosas pasan y tu con ellas”. This statement is to be identified as a statement in Liber II, chapter 1 of the *De Imitatione*: “All things are passing and yourself with them”. In addition to this example of an isolated phrase, many more examples could be given from which it clearly appears that el Mancebo copied entire chapters of the *De Imitatione*. These examples are discussed extensively in Fonseca’s thesis⁴⁵. It is not surprising, therefore, that el Mancebo should have followed the same method regarding Yça’s works, as we see from another passage of the *Sumario*:

Dizen los nawhīs: no vivas en ti’erra de infi’eles, ni donde ay mal ap’lega de justi’ia, ni kabo de malos veçinos, si abrás poder. Ki’en vive en ti’erra de infi’eles abe malas enkont’raças i de kontino malos aspiçi’os⁴⁶. ‘Umarbāi señala t’res enkont’raças a los ke viven en la ti’erra de infi’eles: lo p’rimero, por la demençi’a del-addīn; lo segundo, porke no te ereḡe infi’el; lo terçero, por evitar sus usos i kostunb’res...⁴⁷.

Clearly ‘*los nawhīs*’ and ‘Umarbāi are merely names attached to what appear to be paraphrases of the *Breviario Sunni*. From the above it can be concluded that the testimony of el Mancebo regarding the identity of his sources should be viewed with the utmost care.

In order to explain the contradictory evidence on the nature of the cooperation between the two Muslims let us now examine the reasons for compiling the work. These are dealt with in the intro-

⁴⁴ I have chosen a few examples at random, the sources of the *Breve Compendio* are discussed in Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, p. 416 ff, idem, “El Mancebo de Arévalo”, pp. 34-5.

⁴⁵ Fonseca Antuña, *Sumario*, pp. 20-6.

⁴⁶ Perhaps a variant of *auspicios*, ‘omens’.

⁴⁷ *Sumario*, f. 141r-v.

duction, which starts with an explanation of the coming of the revelation, replacing all the preceding religions (*ribtos*):

Pu^wes tornando a las birtudes i g^raci^yas de nu^west^oro onrrado alqur[']ān, ke son inkonp^rensibles, tan surjentes i lebantadas, ke sobrepuyan a todos los entendimi^yentos umanos i t^ronales, del ku^wal todos sus departidores hazen alkitebes a la similitud de la dizi^yenda, kada uno según su entendimi^yento i arte mani^yesta, ak^alarando kon su çi^yençi^ya la ordenança de los //f. 2v// mandami^yentos i debedami^yentos de nu^west^ara santa ley i(l)ççunna, en-señándolos en la mejor forma i manera ke enti^yenden, a lo ku^wal está obligado todo muslim bu^weno ...

The Qur'an, it is explained, is the sole source of Islam, and:

ansi diremos kon berda^d ke todo lo más deste konpendi^yo sali^yó de las dichas aleyas [i.e. *āyas*], y no sali^yó todo del t^rabajo mⁱo, ke yo halle sharjes [*sharḥes*, i.e. commentaries or explanations] en muchos alkitebes //f. 3r// ^carabigos i aljemi^cados rreposados, ke departi^yan muchas kosas de las ke akí son kontenidas en-este konpendi^yo, y-aunke ban los dichos deskarri^yados por ser esta *la p^rimera t^raslaçi^yón* [my italics], no lo a^tribuyan a poka kuri^yosidad, porke no puede una lektura satisfacerse de la primera alluhada, mas ya podrá ku^walki^yere medi^yana çi^yençi^ya o entendimi^yento rreferir i dar salida, pu^wes no ti^yene ke rrastrear çi^yençi^ya de ningún arte, porke todo esta abokado al entendimi^yento natural, solo ke los dichos no se pueden bi^yen ermanar por ser esta *la p^rimera kopilaçi^yón* [my italics] i los bokab^olos de muchas ti^yerras. P^rlege a su dibina bonda^d me haga tal g^raci^ya ke pu^weda enterarla i most^rarla a su dibino loor a todo muçlim, i ke sea para todos muy aperçebida, i no rekaiga sobre mi ninguna rrepereençi^yón por awdita ke sea, porke mi intento solo fu^we de serbir ad Allāh y-ap^ro-bechar a todo muçlim, y aunke ban los dichos deskarri^yados i su^wenan en muchas partes los actos del-aşşala, ayuno i a(l)zzake, al fin todo ba lo mas sustançi^yal ke yo supe kolejir, i si akaso abrá algun simile bazi^yo el lektor dará parzida, pu^wes yo no lo akosegí por biçi^yo; asi mesmo ban los erençi^yos i partiçi^yones, desas i terçi^yos, a(l)şşadaqas, pekados, denu^westos de hijos a padres i de mayores a menores, los log^ros, enpeños, kasa-mi^yentos, maridajes i kitaçi^yones, alaydas, nobenas, alkafaras y-otras dokt^rinas est^arabagales, ke kada una de estas mereçe kopilaçi^yón de por sí, por lo ku^wal no pu^weden tener los dichos morales, porke hazen parada en muchos lugares segun las aleyas //f. 3v// de nu^west^oro onrrado alqur[']ān ..., i por otra parte nos manda nu^west^oro onrrado alqur[']ān ke todo na^hu^we o bu^wen ^carabi^yado, o siki^yera leedor, kada uno dek^alare lo ke mas al kaso pu^weda, enseñando a todo muçlim la salbaçi^yón de su alma, i pues no diga demasi^yas kont^ra su entendimi^yento, sino ke deklare kon alqalam o lenwa o seños, por inutiles ke sean, todo lo ke sepa de nuest^ara santa ley i(l)ççunna, i si lo denegamos Allah nos dara t^rabajos en esta bida y-en la otra benalidades, i no abrá eskusa para el ke no lo enseñare a todo k^ereyente berdadero.

I por esta akomanda determiné tomar t*rabajo kon aku*erdo de otros °alimes, amigos mi*os, ke no solo me lo rrogaron, mas aun kont*ribuyeron kon sus algos en mi sokorro i aseguraron mi fecho, porke se aumentaba de kada d*fa en la demenç*ya de nu*est*ro a(l)ddin, i muchos eran pertibados de lo bueno, ke ya parti*an los erenç*ios a fueros injustos, i no pagaban el azzake, ni haz*an obras de çunna, y-esto ya se deskonpon*fa en muchas partes. I pu*es estos denu*estos se haz*an en tan poko ti*empo kont*ra nu*est*ra ley i(l)ççunna, ke no llegeban los di*ez años de nu*est*ra konberç*ion, pues si Allah no bu*elbe kon nosotros ¿ke será de los muçlimes enta Allah, °azza wa djalla?

In these lines the *Breve Compendio* is described as “the first copy” and “the first compilation”. It is not clear how these qualifications should be interpreted, especially since it is abundantly clear that a large part of the *Breve Compendio* is based on the *Breviario Sunni*. This can be seen from the very first chapter of the *Breve Compendio*, the “*t*ratado primero de los señales ke an de preçeder para la fin desta p*resente siglo*” (f. 6r-11r), which is almost entirely based on the corresponding chapter of the *Breviario Sunni*. It is remarkable that the *Breve Compendio* should begin with the signs which precede the end of the present age, clear evidence of the value which Muslims in Christian Spain attached to this particular part of the *Breviario Sunni*. The second chapter (f. 12r ff.) contains “los artíkulos ke todo bu*en muçlim está obligado a tener por fe, i donde i komo se debe çimentar la fe”. These are the *Thirteen Articles of the Faith*⁴⁸. The authors of the *Breve Compendio* therefore knew very well that their work was not the first one written in the vernacular. As for the title itself, *Breve Compendio*, it seems likely that it was also derived from the introduction to the *Breviario Sunni*, in which the *Breviario Sunni* itself is also referred to as a ‘*Breve compendio*’ (see appendix 3).

The *Breve Compendio* is based on the adapted version of the *Breviario Sunni*. This appears from the following lines taken from the first chapter:

Dize Abū al-Hasan ke la primera edad fu*e desde nu*est*ro padre Edam hasta Nūḥ, i desde Nūḥ hasta Ibrāhīm, i desde Ibrāhīm hasta Mūçā, i desde Mūçā hasta Çulaymān, i desde Çulaymān hasta °İçā, i desde °İçā hasta Muḥammad, ş*em, i desde Muḥammad hasta la fin d-este p*resente sig*lo, k-es esta edad en ke aora estamos⁴⁹.

⁴⁸ See Harvey, “Un Manuscrito”, p. 55.

⁴⁹ *Breve Compendio*, f. 6v.

This is the adapted version of the ages in which the sequence Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, Sulaymān is mentioned and in which the construction of the temple of Jerusalem by Sulaymān and its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, found in the original version of the *Breviario Sunni*, play no role. This indicates that the adaptation of the *Breviario Sunni* had already taken place very shortly after the conversions of 1525. The contents of the *Breve Compendio* are clearly of the same sort as those found in works on *fiqh* such as the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī and the *Breviario Sunni*. That this indeed proves to be the case can also be gathered from the table of contents published in Harvey's aforesaid article.

It is very striking that in the introduction quoted above the obligation incumbent on every Muslim to teach his fellow Muslims the salvation of their souls is based on the Qur'ān. In the *Sumario* the same command is attributed to Mālik (viz. b. Anas)⁵⁰. It will be remembered that it is also mentioned in the introduction to the *Breviario Sunni*, where we simply read that it is "that authority" (*aquella auctoridad*) (see appendix 3) which commands someone who knows something of the law to teach it to all creatures. Be that as it may, induced by this command the author had begun to compose his treatise, noticing that the Muslim faith weakened each day: inheritances were no longer divided according to Muslim law, the *zakāt* was no longer paid, "works of the sunna" were no longer performed, and all this occurred not even ten years after the conversion of the Mudejars of Aragon.

The question arises of whether it is possible that the background of the remark that the *Breve Compendio* was the *first* compilation and 'translation' in fact refers to the adaptation of the *Breviario Sunni itself*? It is very interesting to notice that the sources used in the text were 'modernized'. Part of the work is characterized as:

reformatando todo lo mejor i por el mejor estilo ke supe kolejir, por la grande añiyanidad de los bokablos ke defendi'an kont'ra nu'estro t'rajo, no porke no tubi'eron akellos mejores kabidas de çi'ençi'a i p'rudençi'a ke nosot'ros, sino ke era neçesari'o remedar akellos bokab'los i bolberlos a nu'estro ti'empo⁵¹.

In the preceding chapter we have seen that this is precisely what happened to the text of the *Breviario Sunni*: an adaptation in which

⁵⁰ *Sumario*, f. 112v-113r.

⁵¹ *Breve Compendio*, f. 5r.

Spanish medieval words were replaced by more modern ones, the influence of the Arabic syntax and morphology were removed and some of the contents were deliberately changed.

Let us now finally return to the contradictory evidence about the authorship of the text. To what extent can the *Breve Compendio* be regarded as a work of el Mancebo? This question leads us to a reconsideration of the role of Baray de Rremindjo. There are many parallels between the *introduction* to the *Breve Compendio*, which, as we have seen above, is written in the first person singular by the author who refers to himself as “señor Baray” and the *Breviario Sunni*. One example may suffice:

Disso un ʿālim: a solos los naḥuʿes es no errar las lekturas y sus susta-
taçiʿas [sustançiʿas?] i solo a los del-a(l)ṣṣihāba [Ar.: *al-ṣaḥāba*, the
companions of the Prophet Muḥammad] abemos de imitar sus usos i
kostumbres, abitos y tʿrajes, porque fuʿe la mas abantajada orden de todas
las del mundo ... puʿes sigamos sus usos i kostumbres, abitos y tʿrajes i
semejanças, de manera ke en todo les imitemos, desando los usos, abitos
i tʿrajes de los infīʿeles, komo dize Qateda k-el muḥlim a de ser konoçido
dentʿro i fuʿera, fuʿera por el tʿraje y dentʿro //f. 6 r// por las obras.

These lines are taken from the *Breviario Sunni*⁵². Another striking element is that no stylistic differences can be perceived between the introduction and the rest of the text. The characteristic ‘sources’ of el Mancebo, such as *los naḥuʿes*, Qateda, ʿUmar Bey, and others already mentioned are cited in the introduction as well⁵³. We have seen above that the text of the *Breviario Sunni* underwent a drastic and deliberate adaptation. Did Baray’s contribution perhaps consist in the adaptation of the *Breviario Sunni*, a work which was strongly propagated in Aragon by el Mancebo, and was el Mancebo, and not Baray perhaps the main author of the *Breve Compendio*? If this were true, it would imply that the evidence of the introduction discussed above should perhaps not be interpreted literally. This hypothesis is to some extent supported by the evidence in the introduction to the *Tafsira*.

⁵² See also *Tratado y Declaración y Guía*, f. 24r (appendix 5).

⁵³ *Breve Compendio*, f. 2r-5v.

V.3.2. *The Tafsira*

The second work attributed to el Mancebo is the *Tafsira* (J 62). This MS was described in the catalogue of the Junta collection by Ribera and Asín and dated in the 16th century. The watermarks in the MS seem to indicate that it dates from the late 16th or beginning of the 17th century⁵⁴. There is a complex relationship between the *Tafsira* and the *Breve Compendio* which cannot be dealt with here. Suffices it to say that both works have chapters in common, but the *Breve Compendio* is composed according to the usual order of Arabic *fiqh* works and such an order cannot be detected in the *Tafsira*. We will focus on the introduction to this work⁵⁵. In this short introduction the reasons for compiling the work are set out⁵⁶. We read that it was on a day “*de los si'ete del año beintiçinkeno de dūālqiyyāda*” [sic], that a number of Muslims gathered in Zaragoza. Among them were twenty learned and virtuous scholars (“*alimes doktos y faḍalados*”⁵⁷). After the *al-dduhar* (probably *al-zuhr*, the afternoon) they started to discuss ‘our’ (the author speaks here on behalf of his fellow Moriscos) pains (*ddu^welos*). It was agreed that the loss (*perdida*) was large, and established “*de ku^wan poka essençi^ya era nu^west^ra obra*”⁵⁸. Opinions on eventual action to be taken at first diverged but when someone said some very rude words, namely that every Muslim had to seek his own salvation in these circumstances (this individual was obviously of the opinion that there was no place for the learned) they all opposed him and some sort of agreement was reached. It was agreed that “*la obra sin alīmām* [sic] *i sin llamador ke era komo p^ulubi^ya de las otoñadas ke las rreçibe la ti^yerra kon poko f^ruwto y-asi mesmo es el-aṣṣala ke se haçe fu^wera de su ora*”: Good works where there is no *imām* or muezzin (*llamador*) are like autumn rain falling on land which bears very little fruit, and the same holds true for the *ṣalāt* which is performed outside the prescribed hours. At the time when this gathering was held, the

⁵⁴ Watermarks: sun with initials IBG below it. This watermark resembles Briquet 13,942 (1589-93), though Briquet's watermark has initials ANF. Circle with a Latin cross on top and initials CAI. For a discussion of this watermark: the discussion of the watermarks in the *Sumario* (B.N. Res 245).

⁵⁵ Published by Harvey, “Un manuscrito aljamiado”, pp. 49-74, 65-71.

⁵⁶ Also to be found in: *R.A.*, p. 218 ff.

⁵⁷ MS *fasalados*.

⁵⁸ *Tafsira* (Narváez, ed.), f. 1v.

author says, less than eight years had passed since “our conversion”. The meeting was concluded as follows. The *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* was performed with a Morisco merchant of Segovia as *imām*:

Allí hiçimos al-ʿaṣar kon achuntamiʿento i fuʷwe adelantado don Manrique de Segoviʷya ke a la saççón estaba en Ççaragoçça kon çîʷertas merkançiʷyas, i komo todos le deseaban onrrar, adelantaronle kon gʷaçiʷya y para biʷen de todos i yyo diyse el-*alḥutba* komo kʷriʷado i menor de todos. I komo ya se açerkaba mi rromeache, ke no faltaba sino llegar la konpañiʷya ke ya estaban a punto en-Abila la Rreal, i komo el señor don Manrique entendiʷo la kuyta de mi biʷyache rreparó parte de mi neçesidad i diʷyome diez doblas moriskas y los demas ʿalimes ke allí se hallaron todos kon-tʷrebuʷeron en mi fabor⁵⁹.

Then the ʿulamāʿ gathered here asked el Mancebo to compose the present work:

Aki me rogaron estos onrrados ʿalimes, biʷendo la demençiʷya sobredicha de nuʷestʷro aldīn, que en el intre de miy parda yo me okuwpase en rrenuwmerar alguna parte sustançial de *ṣharḥes* (MS *ṣhalḥes*) de nuʷestʷro Alqurʷān, lo más bʷrebe y konpendiʷyosamente posible. Yyo açeté este pekeño tʷrabasso [sic, the MS contains 445 folios] d-esta Tafççira por sumelar a la obliygaçiʷón muçliymínada y por el rruʷego d-estos onrrados ʿalimes⁶⁰.

This introduction apparently describes a historical event that took place eight years after the decree of 1525, in other words in about 1533, about the same time as the *Breve Compendio* was conceived. According to this report the *khutba* was given by el Mancebo during the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*, which is very peculiar because it is usually given during the *ṣalāt al-djumʿa* said on Fridays at the time of the *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr*, i.e. the afternoon. We are therefore probably not dealing with a *khutba* but rather with a case of *waʿz*, or popular preaching⁶¹.

It is remarkable that Baray de Rremindjo should be completely absent in this report, particularly since the *Breve Compendio* and the *Tafsira* have much material in common and were apparently written at the same time. But the problem of the authorship of both the *Tafsira* and the *Breve Compendio* cannot be resolved here. The presson that the work incorporates ‘commentaries of the Qurʷān’ is not confirmed by its contents. In reality the subject matter is very

⁵⁹ *Tafsira*, f. 3r, translation of this passage in *Lit. Cult.*, p. 389.

⁶⁰ *Tafsira*, f. 3v.

⁶¹ See on this subject Ibn al-Djawzī, *Kitāb al-quṣṣaṣ*, passim.

difficult to understand and to identify. As I have already said above, there are only very few indications that el Mancebo knew Spanish works of *tafsīr*.

V.3.3. *The Sumario de la relación y ejercicio espiritual*

The unique MS of this work is Madrid, B.N. Res. 245 (Saa 13, G.R. 41⁶²). According to Saavedra “la nota de la tapa atribuye la letra al siglo XV; Gayangos á principios del XVI. El lenguaje es de mediados del siglo XVI”. The watermarks indicate that the MS dates from the end of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century⁶³.

The aim of this work was quite different from the other two. The emphasis lies on devotion and piety rather than on prescriptions of the *shari'a*. Although some passages (which may not even be part of the original text⁶⁴) are based on the *Breviario Sunni*⁶⁵, that work plays only a marginal role in the *Sumario*. The authorship of el Mancebo de Arévalo is obvious from the first lines, which read as follows:

Este es un sumari'o de la rrelaçi'ón i'xerçiçi'o espíritu'al, sakado i dek'larado por el Manzebo de Arévalo en nu'est'ra lengu'a kastellana i tanbi'en se ku'enta en-él, al fin, la dikretanza çunal, i de ke manera se sirve i gu'arda en Mmaka, aççahā Allāh, ðent'ro del santo tiyabero por nu'est'ro ped'rikador Mālik i sus dikretadores, sigún ke le fu'e fecho a saber a este dicho Manzebo por personas ke an vesitado akella Santa Kasa⁶⁶.

In the *Sumario* several asides and personal accounts are found as well. One of these asides tells about el Mancebo's visit to a learned

⁶² This MS contained several loose documents, published by Hoenerbach, *Spanisch-Islamische Urkunden*, no. 32, 45, 52.

⁶³ Two watermarks: (1) grapes. This watermark is placed across the chain-lines and has initials EICC. There is only one watermark in the same position in Briquet: 13,198 (1598), which has other initials. Other collections of watermarks do not present useful specimens. (2) Circle with letter AI. Resemblance with Valls i Subirà, *History*, vol. 2, no. 54 (1563) and no. 57 (1595), also with the watermark in T 235, dated 1606, in particular the watermark on f. 165 and the watermarks in the unidentified Arabic *fiqh* work, G.R. 569 (Van Koningsveld, “Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts”, appendix, no. 21, Madrid, B.N. 5390), dated 27 September 1603.

⁶⁴ No one has noticed the remark on f. 106r: “Akí se akaba el exerçiçi'o espíritual”, immediately followed by a chapter called “Kapítulo de la haleqaçi'ón de nu'est'ro onrrado alqur'an”.

⁶⁵ E.g. Capítulo del estado del alhalifa; capítulo donde se declara el estado del muftī, y como todo muçlim está conocer su acto (f. 125r ff).

⁶⁶ *Sumario*, f. 1r.

Muslim, Yūçe Banegas, who lived in Granada (f. 85ff)⁶⁷. This visit took place after the events of 1499 but before the accession to the throne of Carlos V. This can be deduced from Yūçe's remark that he was pessimistic about the future of the Muslims in Spain, for: "Si el rey de la konquista no gu^uarda fidelidad, ¿ké agu^uardamos de sus suzesores?" It seems obvious that the king referred to here is Fernando el Católico, who, in the eyes of the Mudejars, had violated the Capitulation of Granada by not allowing the Mudejars of Granada to bear arms and by changing laws of succession etc. Fernando died in 1515. El Mancebo also tells us that during the conquest of Granada Yūçe had lost three sons, two daughters, and his wife, and was left with one daughter of seven months old⁶⁸. Since el Mancebo states that when he met this girl during his visit to Yūçe she led a pious life (*açt'a vida şalehal*), and was able to recite the Qur'ān by heart, Narváez⁶⁹ and Fonseca⁷⁰ argue that the meeting between el Mancebo and Yūçe must have taken place after 1508, assuming that the minimum age for a girl to know the Qur'ān and lead a pious life would be at least fifteen. This argument is not entirely convincing, for it is very questionable whether the death of Yūçe's family occurred in 1492: the conquest of Granada took several years. 1499 therefore remains the only certain *terminus post quem* of the *Sumario*.

Conclusion

Two works by el Mancebo de Arévalo were probably composed shortly after the forcible conversion of the Mudejars of Aragon. If we accept the testimony of the *Breve Compendio* and the *Tafsira*, we must assume that he began to write both works after 1534. The other work, the *Sumario*, may have been written earlier. There are no reasons to assume that there was a special relationship between Yça Gidelli and el Mancebo de Arévalo. His works are based on the adapted version of the *Breviario Sunni*, and as far as can be judged from the extant sources, he was not acquainted with any of Yça's other works. El Mancebo appears to have been viewed as an outsider by the Aragonese Morisco community, and it was perhaps because of what the Muslims perceived as his 'learning' in Greek,

⁶⁷ Published by Harvey, "Yūçe Banegas", passim.

⁶⁸ *Sumario*, f. 86r.

⁶⁹ Narváez, *La Tafsira*, p.(!) 52 ff.

⁷⁰ Introduction to the *Sumario*, p. 9.

Hebrew, and Latin sources and his piety that he was held in esteem.

V.4. MOHANMAD DEVERA'S COMPENDIUM

Paris, B.N. MS Esp. 397 was described by De Sacy⁷¹ and Morel Fatio (no. 38). Harvey⁷² and Cardaillac⁷³ devoted some attention to this text. It is a MS of 245 folios, written in Spanish in Latin characters, brown letter on dark paper. The MS includes a colophon on f. 244v-245r, but unfortunately this is damaged. With respect to the dating only the words "*año de mil seisç..*" are readable. The work was therefore written shortly before the expulsion. It seems quite likely that the author, who appears to have lived in the village of Exea de Albarrazín⁷⁴, wrote it in Spain. On many pages a reader's marginal notes can be found, such as: "true" (*verdad*), or: "note" (*nota*). The introduction contains some interesting evidence on the circumstances of the Aragonese Moriscos at the beginning of the 17th century. It reads as follows⁷⁵:

//f. 1r// En el nombre de un solo dios todo poderoso sin prinçipio medio ni fin, que crio el mundo de nada y por su al/ta providençia inbio sus profetas de grado en grado en los / tiempos y con las mensajerias que fue servido, llamando / a las gentes a su unidad y santa ley en fin de los quales ynbio su escojido y bienaventurado profeta mohanmad, çaley, con su santa ley e onrado alcoran con la qual / revoco y dio fin a todas las leyes que asta entonces vi/nieron, la qual todos nuestros pasados guardaron desde / su santo advenimiento y della muchas naçiones se apro/vecharon. Conbiene a saber de su çiençia y buenos ju[i]/çios de que oy careçen nuestros deçendientes no por falta de fe sino por aver perdido el lenguaje arav[e]/ Por la grande oprision y apretura que siempre ave[.] / tenido en bivar entre nuestros enemigos y força [...] guardasemos otra ley y a pedimiento y

⁷¹ "Notice d'un manuscrit espagnol", pp. 311-27. The rest of the article (pp. 327-333) deals with an Aljamiado MS in the possession of De Sacy. De Sacy published the introduction and a table of contents.

⁷² *Lit. Cult.*, pp. 76, 166 and 426.

⁷³ *Morisques et Chrétiens*, pp. 47, 153. Cardaillac is of the opinion that the work was written in Aragon shortly before the expulsion.

⁷⁴ See also below, chapter VI.1., Madrid, B.N. 5223 was copied in Exea also. See on this Morisco village, Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 202-6.

⁷⁵ The spelling was left unchanged.

suplica[çion de?⁷⁶] //f. 1v// algunos amigos de obligaçion tubiendo bien zelo / me pidieron a mi mohanmad devera natural de / la villa dexea de albarazin del reyno de aragon sa/case a luz algunos de los capitulos que tratan lo que dios adebdeçio a su santo profeta mohanmad, çaley, / y a su alumna Para que siempre que se les ofreçiere Pi/dir o saber alguna cosa de los <de los> deudos o çuna / lo allen en lengua que lo entiendan para podello cum/plir y yo, movido con buen zelo, mirando al fin que las / buenas obras tienen me ocupe despaçio Pidiendo / auxilio a dios nuestro señor me diese graçia para a/çertar a ponello en el punto que conviene y anssi me/Diante su divina graçia saque a una Parte los / Prinçipales mandamientos y devedamientos de nuestro onrado alcoran, los articulos de la fe, El or/den como se a de hazer el tahor y alguado y lo que lo / revoca y con que se cumple, otro tratado del açala, ayuno, zaque, alhach, daheas, algiher⁷⁷ y de adonde / tomo cada una destas cosas prinçipio, y lo ques deudo / y lo ques çuna, otro tratado de los señales de la fin del / mundo y de los estados en quel mundo se gobierna, otro / de las encomiendas que encomendo nuestro santa y bi[enavent]urado Profeta mohanmad, çaley, a su primo //f. 2r// y yerno ali ybnuabitalib, eradi allau anhu, otro tra/tado de Çamarqandil, todo cosas muy neçesarias y prove/chosas Para los buenos muçlimes que quisieren guiarse / por ellas. No e Puesto nada de mio como dios bien sabe a / quien dexo por testigo ni tanpoco e quitado de aquello / que e allado escripto Por sabios doctos del açihaba / de nuestro santo annabi. Por no caer en el pecado de / los que quitan y ponen en la ley de dios e andado bi/gilante Por escrivir verdades y por ponello todo co/mo se deve poner. No puedo asigurar es ansi porque soy / ombre y en los ombres suçeden los yerros e innoran/çias mayormente aviendo ruido de niños cosa contraria al quescribe Por ser la lectura ques mereçia es/tar mas purificada de una lengua mas cortada que la mia, aunque es verdad e procurado muchos voca/blos purificallos y ponellos de modo que agraden a todos/ no quitandoles sustançia ninguna. Pero an sido tan/tos y tan diferentes que forçadamente abre escripto al/gunos dellos no de mio antes bien biniendo a la lectura/ escrivillos despues echалlos dever y por no azer borones / dexалlos Por lo qual Ruego al lector y oyentes si aca/so allaren en mi escriptura algunos yerros o descuy/dos suplan mis grandes faltas como a prudentes [por] // f. 2v// que los descuydos y yerros se allan en las cria/turas y en los discretos disimularlos -alabado y vendi/to sea- aquel queda pasada a nuestras culpas y pecados y la salvaçion de dios sea sobre nuestro san/to y bienaventurado profeta mohanmad, çaley, y / sobre los de su alumna. Amin amin gual / hamdulilla erabi ylamina.

Thus appears that Mohanmad Devera attributes the ignorance of his fellow-Moriscos about the teachings of the Qur'ān to the fact that

⁷⁶ About three letters are lacking.

⁷⁷ Sic. Devera is referring to *djihad*, or Holy War.

they are no longer capable of understanding Arabic. They lost their knowledge because they had been oppressed for so many years by their enemies, who had forced them to abide by another 'law'. Some *amigos de obligación*, probably individuals to whom Mohanmad was indebted in some way, had urged him therefore to copy out (*sacar a luz*) some chapters which deal with God's prescriptions to Muḥammad and the community of Believers (*umma*), so that if his fellow Muslims wished to know something of these matters they would find them in a language they understood. The chapters of the first treatise described by Mohanmad are clearly taken from the *Breviario Sunni*, as will be shown below. The chapters of the second treatise by 'Çamarqandil' can be identified as chapters from Abū 'l-Layth al-Samarqandī's *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*⁷⁸. This work was widely read by the Mudejars and Moriscos, as appears from the number of extant MSS both in Arabic and Spanish⁷⁹.

Mohanmad describes the trouble he has taken to give a fair picture of the texts he copied out, in spite of the fact that he saw himself obliged to adapt some words (one presumes he means that he modernized some expressions) and that he was distracted by the noise of children. The part which concerns us here, the first part, deserves some closer attention. We might presume that Mohanmad simply copied out some chapters of the *Breviario Sunni*, but this does not seem to be the case, as appears from the following brief description of its contents:

"Capítulo primero trata de los principales mandamientos y devedamientos de nuestro alcoran" (f. 3r). First words: "El soberano criador que revelo su onrado alcoran a su escojido y bienaventurado Profeta Mohanmad çaley habla en siete maneras y assi se contiene en la ley y çuna mandamientos y devedamientos ystorias y revelaçiones castigos amenazamientos y prometimientos. Suma breve y conprehensible de los quales mandamientos y devedamientos que en la ley y çuna se contienen, y los mas principales son estos...". This is *edition*, chapter 1.

"Capítulo sigundo que aclara que cosa es fe y como es salvaçion del alma" (f. 4r, corresponds to *edition*, chapter 2).

⁷⁸ On al-Samarqandī: *GAL* 1, 196.

⁷⁹ See for example Saa 10 (a complete translation in *aljamía*; 24 (fragment); 60 (fragment); 93, J 3, 4, 6, 8. Studies by Manzanares de Cirre, "Otro mundo", "El capítulo".

“Capítulo III trata los articulos quel buen muçlim esta obligado a creer y tener por ffe” (f. 5r, corresponds to *edition*, chapter 3).

“Capítulo IV trata como se deve hazer el tahor y Porque se pierde y con que se cumple y lo ques açunado en el” (f. 11r, corresponds to *edition*, chapter 4).

“Capítulo V trata de como se deve azer el alguado y de adonde tomo prinçipio y porque se pierde y con que se cumple y lo ques en el deudo o çuna” (f. 11r).

The first to perform the ‘*alguado*’ i.e. the *wuḍū*, the ritual ablution, was Adam, as is explained as follows:

El alguado tomo prinçipio lo ques los lados adebdeçidos en nuestro primero padre ean [sic], aley, y fue despues de aver pecado por aver comido del arbol que dios nuestro señor le proibio en la gloria. Por el qual pecado le espelio nuestro señor de la gloria y le eçho a este tereste mundo en el qual conoçio su pecado y llo ro y hizo la mayor penitençia que jamas se a bisto ni vera ...⁸⁰.

“Capítulo VI trata del agua limpia para el alguado y tahor y sobre que se puede tomar y del atayamum de donde tomo prinçipio” (f. 14r). This section corresponds to *edition*, chapter 6, though some stories cannot be found there, for example the following (f. 15v line 1):

El atayamun tomo prinçipio en elannabi de dios yuçuf, hijo de yacob, sobre ellos es el açalem. Este santo annabi fue el que enpozado por sus ermanos y despues le vendieron a gentes estraños. Dize la santa escriptura estuvo en carçeles dezisiete años peseguido por su bondad y firmeza, y viendose preso y tan apretado llo ro en la carçel adonde estava porque no podia cumplir el açala que azia ordinariamente en serviçio de dios Por la hediondez de la carçel adonde estava, y tambien Porque le faltava el agua para el alguado. Y vistose tan congoxado rogo a dios le diese orden Para poder cumplir elaçala que acostumbrava azer. Fue la rogaria deste justo tan fita y con tan bueños entraños que dios respondio della, y deçendio gibril aley a la carçel adonde estava yuçuf aley Por mandamiento de dios, y le dio la orden avia de tener Para azer atayamum con el qual pudo cumplir su açala. Quedo yuçuf tan agradeçido de la merçed que dio infinitas graçias a dios y continuo su açala en la carçel con atayamum conforme le mando dios, y para casos tales da lugar nuestra santa ley y çuna.

⁸⁰ f. 11v.

What follows is largely *edition*, chapter 7 (some passages, such as that on f. 17r 'la orden' until 'la manera', cannot be found in any of the extant MSS of the *Breviario Sunni*).

"Capítulo VII trata de la purgaçion y pariçion de la muger" (f. 17v, corresponds to *edition*, chapter 8).

"Capítulo VIII trata de los açalaes y sus nombres y sus oras y adonde tomo prinçipio cada uno de los açalaes y de adonde qudo adebdeçido sobre el adin de mohanmad, çaley" (f. 18v). The beginning of this chapter follows *edition*, chapter 9: 'el açala de açobhi' until 'primera ora'. Then Esp. 397 continues with a story about Adam (f. 19r), which cannot be found in the *Breviario Sunni*. Then follows the 'açala de adohar' (corresponds to *edition*, chapter 9, see p. 269, 'el açala de addohar' up to the words 'no para otras'), and an explanation why and by whom this *şalât* was introduced, namely by Ibrāhīm at the occasion of the sacrifice of Ismā'īl. The reduction of the number of *şalâts* which were to be performed daily is the result of Muḥammad's ascension to heaven, the *mi'rādj* (explained on f. 22r).

"Capítulo IX trata con quantas cosas se cumple el açala adebdeçido y agraviado y que açalaes son los que son deudos y los que son çuna" (f. 23 r, i.e. the beginning of *edition*, chapter 11⁸¹).

"Capítulo X trata de la manera que se an de azer los çinco açalaes adebdeçidos y los yeros e imiendas que tienen las anafilas se pueden hazer entre cada uno dellos" (f. 26r, corresponds to *edition*, chapter 11, p. 273).

"Capítulo XI trata de los ayunos adebdeçidos y porque se ayuna y de los azaques de las monedas sembrados y ganados" (f. 32r, incipit: "el mes santo de romadan"; this passage differs from the *edition*). On f. 34r can be found the beginning of chapter 25 of the *edition*: "elazaque de la moneda ...".

⁸¹ On f. 24r is found "elaçala de rogar por agua" (= *edition*, chapter 18) and on f. 25v "elaçala de la muerte" (= *edition*, p. 301).

“Capítulo XII trata de lo que deve cumplir quien fuere a hazer alhaçe a meca onrrrela Dios como puede” (f. 37r, corresponds to *edition*, chapter 30, although with some differences).

“Capítulo XIII trata de las adaheas de Pascua y como se a de cumplir y las reses que son buenos y los que no pasan y de adonde tomo prinçipio por que y lo que es deudo en el alçhiher” (f. 38r corresponds to *edition*, chapter 31, on f. 40r: “el açhiher y mantener frontera...”).

“Capítulo XIV que trata de los señales [que] a de aver para la fin deste presente siglo” (f. 41r).

“Capítulo XV trata que cosa es repintencia y como se a de azer para que sea buena” (f. 43r, corresponds to *edition*, chapter 59).

“Capítulo XVI trata de la dotrina y grados en que el mundo se gobierna” (f. 44r, corresponds to *edition*, chapter 60)⁸².

Conclusion

Apart from the story of the institution of the sacrifice on ‘*īd al-adḥā*’, the stories about the origin of ritual obligations such as the *wuḍū’* and the *tayammum* are not found in the present version of the *Breviario Sunni*, as we know it from the extant MSS,⁸³. The temptation of Ybrahim “tentado en su querido hijo Ismā’īl” is also found in Mohanmad’s treatise, but a much longer version is given here⁸⁴. It can be observed, moreover, that only those parts of the *Breviario Sunni* were copied out which deal with the ‘*ibādāt*’ (an exception being the “Twelve Degrees in which the world is governed”, f. 44r). The *mu’āmalāt* are left out. The composition of the treatise is strongly reminiscent of the *Tratado y declaración y Guía*. In that work we also find the stories of the origin of the ritual obligations, and the same stress on the ‘*ibādāt*’. However, we see from a comparison between the story of the origin of the *wuḍū’* on

⁸² The next chapter (f. 48r) is the beginning of al-Samarqandī’s treatise: “capítulo XVII trata las encomiendas que encomendó nuestro bienaventurado nabi Mohanmad, çaley a su yerno y primo ali ybnuabitalib, eradi allau anhu ...”. The rest of the treatise consists of parts of al-Samarqandī’s *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*, as was explained above.

⁸³ See *edition*, pp. 327-28.

⁸⁴ This passage is reproduced in Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, p. 47. Cardaillac does not mention the fact that this story is found in the *Breviario Sunni*.

f. 33v of the *Tratado* and from Mohanmad's treatise that the *Tratado* is certainly not his source. At this moment it is impossible to be certain about the origin of these intercalated stories. The spelling of terms such as *alchiher* (Ar.: *al-djihād*) and *atayamun* (Ar.: *al-tayammum*) show that the Aragonese Moriscos did not understand the origin of these terms any more. Devera merely confines himself to transmitting those texts which were of the utmost importance for the survival of Islam in early 17th-century Aragon. As was explained above, these Moriscos were particularly interested in the sort of mixture of legal and paraenetic works as found in the *Breviario Sunni* and the *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* by al-Samarqandī. Finally, it should be noted that the adapted version of the *Breviario Sunni* is followed.

V.5. MUHAMMAD RABADAN'S *DISCURSO DE LA LUZ Y DESCENDENCIA*
Y LINAJE CLARO DE NUESTRO CAUDILLO Y BIENAVENTURADO ANNABI
MUHAMMAD

There are two MSS of this poem, which are both written in Latin characters: London, B.M. Harley 7501 (Saa 68)⁸⁵ and Paris, B.N. Esp. 251 (Morel-Fatio 39, Saa 61). Stanley published the London MS collated with the Paris MS in the last century⁸⁶. Both MSS tell us that the poem was composed by Muhammad Rabadan of Rueda de Jalon in 1603:

Conpuesto y acopilado por el siervo y mas necesitado de su perdonança
Muhamad Rabadan, argonés, natural de Rueda de Xalon, ... fue conpuesto
el año de 1603 del nacimiento de Yçe alehiçalem.

It seems very likely that Rabadan originally wrote this poem in Aljamiado. Harvey draws attention to the reading *ojos* in the London MS, where the Paris MS has the reading *usos*. This reading can only be explained if we assumed that the underlying MS was written in Aljamiado. In Aljamiado the spelling of *usos* only differs by a *tashdīd* from one of the forms of *ojos*⁸⁷. The reading *usos* can

⁸⁵ Gayangos, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the British Museum*, vol. 2, pp. 31-2.

⁸⁶ See the bibliography, s.v. Rabadan. Numbers in the references below indicate the number of the volume of the journal in which the work was published, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (JRAS).

⁸⁷ JRAS, New Series, vol. III, p. 86, column 2, line 17, cf. *Lit. Cult.*, p. 433.

only be explained if it is assumed that the underlying MS was written in Aljamiado. In chapter VI we will see that Rabadan was also the copyist of an Aljamiado *tafsīr*.

The poem tells first of all about the transmission of the Divine Light to Muḥammad⁸⁸. This central theme in the mystic veneration of the Prophet was particularly popular among the Mudejars and Moriscos, as appears from the number of MSS of the *Kitāb de las luces*, a translation of *Kitāb al-anwār wa miftāḥ as-surūr wa 'l-afkār fī mawlid al-nabī al-mukhtār*, attributed to the 13th-century (?) author Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī⁸⁹. We know from the Inquisition records that this work was widely read in Spanish in Aragon in the late 16th century⁹⁰.

Rabadan's poem elaborates on the same theme and seems to be heavily influenced by the work attributed to Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī. The Divine Light is transmitted from Adam via the Prophets and Muḥammad's ancestors, and culminates in the birth of the Prophet, and his ascension to heaven (the *mī'rāḡi*). It seems likely that the *Discurso de la Luz* is a *mawlidiyya*, a poem to be recited during the *mawlid al-nabī*. In the history of the *mawlid* two sorts of celebrations can be distinguished: official celebrations, i.e. celebrations at court and popular celebrations, for example in Sūfī circles. According to Salmi, this difference is reflected in the *mawlidiyyāt*. On the one hand there were the polished courtly works with a fixed order: they begin with a *nasīb*, followed by praise of the Prophet, biographical elements, and praise of the reigning sultan. On the other hand there were popular poems which deal exclusively with the theme of the *mawlid*⁹¹. These popular *mawlidiyyāt* were sung in

⁸⁸ See on this theme Schimmel, *Mystische Dimensionen*, p. 91 and index s.v. *Licht* and *nūr*.

⁸⁹ EI² s.v. [art. F. Rosenthal]; *GAL* I, 362; S 1, p. 616. Ff. 1-41r of the Aljamiado translation in Madrid, B.N. 4955 (Saa 27) were published by Kontzi, *AT*, vol. 2, pp. 799-837. In this MS the author is mentioned on f. 1v as "Abū al-Ḥasan 'Abdu Allāhi il-Bukrīyu". The Arabic original was already extant in Spain in the late 13th century: Vat. Borg. Ar. 125 (see Levi Della Vida, "Manoscritti arabi di origine spagnola", p. 153 ff.) contains a copy of this text dated "hisn D.n.yyah" (Denia?) 694/1295 (cf. Van Koningsveld, "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts", Appendix, no. 58). Other Aljamiado MSS are Saa 51 and Saa 91.

⁹⁰ Fournel Guérin, "Le livre et la civilisation écrite", p. 251.

⁹¹ Salmi, "Le genre des poèmes de nativité (maulūdiyya-s) dans le royaume de Grenade et au Maroc du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle", p. 386; Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, p. 336.

colloquial Arabic and Rabadan's poem may be seen as an Aragonese parallel of this genre⁹².

Next to the elements discussed above the poem also contains a story about the Prophet's death and the signs of the Day of Judgement and a chapter called *Canto de la declaración del azora de Alhamdu* (the common designation of *sūrat al-fātiḥa* among the Mudejars and Moriscos). This last *canto* elaborates the theme of the *ṣalāt* as a conversation between the Believer and God, in much the same way as the *Tratado y Declaración y Guía*, although there is no textual relationship with the latter. Finally, it contains a calendar of Muslim festivals and special days and a poem inspired by the 99 names of God.

Harvey draws attention to the fact that the *Breve Compendio* is one of the sources of the *Discurso*, but does not go any further than to suggest that Rabadan read some of the works of el Mancebo and that certain passages are based upon passages of the *Compendio*⁹³. Comparison of the last *canto*, *Ystoria del día del Juicio*, with the first chapter of the *Breve Compendio* shows that this entire *canto* is based on the corresponding chapter in the *Breve Compendio*⁹⁴.

A third source may be the *Guía de la salvación* by a certain Juan del Rincón, probably also written in 1602 or 1603, as will be demonstrated in chapter 6. However, it is impossible to establish whether the relationship between these two works may not have been inverse: apart from the introduction, Juan del Rincón's treatise is no longer extant.

Conclusion

Muhammad Rabadan's poem is a versification of several religious works in Spanish which were quite popular in Aragon in the late 16th century. The author may not have known Yça Gidelli's works directly, but the latter's influence is undeniable in his poem.

⁹² Morgan tells us that Moriscos sung Rabadan's *Discurso* in Testour in the seventeenth century: "At the town of *Tessatore*, in the Kingdom of *Tunis*, I heard some of the Inhabitants, of both Sexes, sing, in Concert, whole Chapters out of this work, to the Sound of Lutes and Guitars" (Morgan, *Mohametism*, vol. 1, p. xxi note).

⁹³ *Lit. Cult*, p. 436. On the relationship with the works of el Mancebo, *ibidem*, p. 433 ff. These parts were published in an unreliable French translation, "Textes de Littérature religieuse des moriscos tunisiens".

⁹⁴ Compare *Breve Compendio*, f. 6r-11r and *JRAS*, New Series, vol. 3, pp. 85-90.

V.6. THE INFLUENCE OF YÇA ON ISLAMIC SPANISH LITERATURE
WRITTEN AFTER THE EXPULSION

As far as the influence of Yça Gidelli is concerned there is a clear rift between the religious literature of the peninsular Moriscos and of the Moriscos after the expulsion in the diaspora: there appear to be no works written after the expulsion which show his influence. Yet, in the most important study on Islamic Spanish literature written after the expulsion, *Morisques et Chrétiens. Un affrontement polémique (1492-1640)*, Cardaillac stresses the continuity between the culture of the peninsular Moriscos and Morisco culture after the expulsion⁹⁵. In this section I wish to examine how this difference can be explained and why the influence of Yça's writings ended with the expulsion.

The contents of Cardaillac's fundamental study can be briefly summarized as follows. In the first part he argues on the basis of the Inquisition records that Moriscos and Christians were opposed communities and concludes that: "le Morisque a conscience au plus profond de lui-même qu'il appartient à une société différente de celle dans laquelle on veut l'inclure. Il est non seulement d'un monde différent, mais même d'un camp opposé ..." ⁹⁶.

Cardaillac assumes furthermore that although the Spanish Christian authorities took great trouble to assimilate the New Christians, their efforts proved to be in vain, because the Moriscos opposed them whenever they could. This had to happen secretly, since the existence of the Inquisition prevented an outright answer. Opposition continued to exist until the very moment of the expulsion, or, as Cardaillac writes: "jusqu'au moment de l'expulsion, la communauté morisque gardera ses coutumes religieuses, et dans la mesure de ses possibilités, continuera en secret à pratiquer l'Islam" ⁹⁷.

In the second part of his work (pp. 153-222) Cardaillac examines the MSS containing polemical material. From that examination it appears that the overwhelming majority of these sources were written between 1609 and 1640 and that these post-expulsion sources are all written in Spanish i.e. in Latin characters.

⁹⁵ On the diaspora see also: Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent, *Historia*, pp. 225-45; Petit and Epalza (eds.), *Recueil d'études*, passim.

⁹⁶ Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, p. 67.

⁹⁷ Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, p. 23.

Besides Spanish sources Cardaillac also devotes attention to some Aljamiado sources. The most important of these is Madrid, B.N. 4944 (G.R. 70, Saa 23)⁹⁸. As I have argued above, this is a *madjmu'a* of polemical texts based on Arabic sources which were written much earlier. The MS itself was also written before 1525⁹⁹, and is therefore very probably a Mudejar MS. The same can be said of some of the other Aljamiado MSS containing polemical material, such as Madrid, R.A.H. V 7. I have argued that this MS probably dates from the 14th century. In conclusion: the polemical material that can be dated in the Morisco period itself is relatively small. The Islamic sources seem to indicate that the Muslim minority produced polemical works above all before the conversions of 1499-1525 and after the expulsion of 1609. The last part of Cardaillac's study (pp. 225-397) is devoted to the study of the polemical themes.

Although the merits of Cardaillac's book are beyond doubt, the historical framework itself may be criticized. First of all, as I said in chapter I, Márquez Villanueva pointed out in a masterly way that Cardaillac's approach is in fact a continuation of the principles of those 17th-century apologists, who tried to justify the expulsion on the basis of their accusation that the Moriscos had refused to become Christian in spite of all Christian efforts. In a study on the picture of the Moriscos in Spanish sources published between 1492 and 1609 Drost confirmed Márquez Villanueva's findings, and also argued that it cannot be said that the Morisco community *as a whole* opposed Christian society¹⁰⁰. Both authors draw attention to class differences and regional differences.

⁹⁸ Parts of this MS have been published by Kontzi, *AT*, pp. 777-798 (f.36r-59r), and by D. Cardaillac, *La polémique anti-chrétienne*.

⁹⁹ Watermarks: hand with flower and two-wheeled wagon. The wagon is quite large (11,8 by 4.6 cm) and shows a sort of crown. Valls i Subirà remarks about the two-wheeled wagon that it was a very common watermark in Spain between the 14th and 16th century (*History*, vol. 2, p. 119). However, all examples which can be found in Valls's study date from the 15th century (nos. 37-46 between 1416 (no. 37) and 1475 (no. 45). Only no. 45 (1475) shows a crown. This watermark slightly resembles the watermark in Madrid, B.N. 4944. In Valls's *Paper and Watermarks*, vol. 2, the wagon is found as well: nos. 1,324-1,342 (dated between 1342 (no. 1,324) and 1461 (no. 1,337). Zonghi's specimens (nos. 1,383-1,392) can be dated between 1424 and 1470. The wagon watermarks in Lichačew's album date from the years between 1417 (no. 289) and 1473 (no. 298). In Briquet we find specimens of this watermark from nos. 3,525 until 3,549, i.e. between 1388 (no. 3,526) and 1475 (no. 3,548). There are no examples confirming that this watermark was still in use in the 16th century.

¹⁰⁰ Drost, *De Moriscos in de publicaties van Staat en Kerk*, passim.

Another point of criticism (stemming from the preceding) concerns Cardaillac's interpretation of the 'Sitz im Leben' of the polemical sources, particularly of those written after the expulsion. Can the post-expulsion polemics indeed be seen as a continuation of the anti-Christian polemic of the Moriscos? If they can, how then can it be explained that the writings of Yça Gidelli hardly lived on among the exiled Moriscos? Why did this Mudejar who, as was seen above, was held in esteem in Islamic Spanish writings until 1609 almost disappear without a trace in the treatises written by Moriscos after the expulsion? From our discussion of the influence of Yça Gidelli upon 16th-century Islamic Spanish literature in the preceding chapter it appeared that 16th-century Morisco writings were witnesses of a deterioration of Morisco Islam. I will argue that the absence of Yça's influence in post-expulsion writings may be explained by this deterioration and the change in the circumstances of the Moriscos brought about by the expulsion.

One preliminary remark should be made. It would be a mistake to suppose that the rift between the peninsular and exilic literary culture was absolute, for this was certainly not the case. I will give two examples. Morgan bought the London MS of Muḥammad Rabadan's *Discurso de la luz* in 1715 from Hamuda Busisa, a physician living in Testour¹⁰¹. Testour is a village near Tunis which was densely populated by exiled Moriscos¹⁰². Secondly, Madrid, R.A.H. T 1 (Saa 75), an Aljamiado MS, may have been bought by Gayangos from a native of Larache, Mohammed Amonesill, who had allegedly inherited the MS from his grandparents. According to Saavedra the MS dates from the beginning of the 16th century. These examples indicate that Moriscos not only concealed their MSS (as may have happened with the Almonacid collection) but also took Islamic MSS with them into exile.

From other sources, however, it appears that the number of Spanish MSS extant among the exiled Moriscos immediately after the expulsion cannot have been very large. In R.A.H. S 2 we are told that upon the arrival of these exiled Andalusians in Tunis someone, probably to be identified as the converted priest Juan Alonso, consulted the Tunisian saintly patron of the exiled Moriscos, Abū 'l-Ghayth al-Qaṣhshāsh, about whether it was permissible

¹⁰¹ Morgan, *Mohametism*, vol. 1, p. xxiii note, Saavedra, *Indice*, p. 68.

¹⁰² Marçais, "Testour et sa grande mosquée. Contribution à l'étude des Andalous en Tunisie", *passim*.

to write some works of instruction for the benefit of expelled Moriscos in Spanish¹⁰³. Such a question would be inconceivable if the expelled Moriscos had possessed a large number of Spanish religious writings. The problem, therefore, is not whether Yça's works were accessible, but why their influence did not continue in post-expulsion Spanish writings. In view of the abundant number of sources from this period and the limitation of my problem I will confine myself mainly to some key works and authors. One of these is Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥaḍjarī al-Andalusī, who was born in ca. 1570¹⁰⁴, i.e. on the eve of the rising of the Granadan Moriscos.

His full (Muslim) name can be found in the autograph MS of his *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn 'alā 'l-qawm al-kāfirīn*. where he signs as al-shaykh al-faqīr Aḥmad b. Qāsim ibn Aḥmad b. al-faqīh Qāsim b. al-Shaykh al-Ḥaḍjarī al-Andalusī¹⁰⁵. According to the same source he was raised in the village *al-ḥaḍjar al-aḥmar*, identified by Sarnelli and Singer as a small village near the city of Granada. His mother-tongue had been Arabic and it was only later, he says, that he learned to speak and write *'adjami*¹⁰⁶. In Madrid a physician from Valencia also taught him to read Arabic¹⁰⁷. At the end of the 16th century Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥaḍjarī became involved in circles of exiled Moroccan Muslims who had connections at the Spanish court. These Muslims had fought at the side of king Sebastian of Portugal, who was killed during the famous battle at Alcazarquivir in 1578. One of them was the *qā'id* 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Tūda, who, from 1581 onwards, was allowed to travel freely in Castile and Portugal where he spread religious and political propaganda among the Moriscos¹⁰⁸. Felipe III allowed him to return to Morocco in 1601. It is worth mentioning here that the presence of these exiled Muslims in Portugal also provided an occasion for an Aragonese Morisco, Muḥammad Escribano, to travel from Aragon to Lisbon in order to seek advice on some legal problems. In one of the

¹⁰³ Pieri, "L'accueil par des Tunisiens aux Morisques expulsés d'Espagne", 66.

¹⁰⁴ This can be deduced from the autograph MS of *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, p. 104. In the margin of the MS is written "wa 'l-yawm balaghtu ilā arba' wa-sab'in sana qamariyya", i.e. 74 moon years. The MS was finished on 20 *Radjab* 1051 (25 October 1641).

¹⁰⁵ *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁶ Sarnelli, "Lo scrittore", p. 598; Singer, "Morisken als Übersetzer", p. 41, 46-7.

¹⁰⁷ *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn*, pp. 25-6.

¹⁰⁸ See Oliver Asín, *Vida de Don Felipe de Africa*, p. 101; Cabanelas Rodríguez, "El caid Marroquí 'Abd al-Karim ibn Tuda", p. 7.

Aljamiado MSS found in Almonacid, J 3, probably written by him, we read:

Yo, Muḥammad esk'ribano, fu^we a Lisboga a demandar a un sabi^yo de Fez ke estaba allí entretenido bor el rei, desbu^wés ke muri^yó el rei de Bortugal en la gera de Fez. I fu^wé yo bor ru^wego de mis amigos a saber, si se abí^ya de bagar azakā de lo ke se ubi^yese azakeado una bez, si no tenese la bersona más moneda de <a>l-ot^oro ano de la ke tení^ya, qu^wando l-azakeó el ot^oro año, ni más ganado ni qu^walqi^yere ot^ora qosa ke deba azakā, o del ban [sic, read pan] qe se gasta en el senb^ar[ar]¹⁰⁹.

In about 1599 al-Ḥadjārī escaped to Morocco and settled in Marrakesh where he became a Spanish interpreter and personal secretary of the Moroccan sultan Mawlāy Zaydān (1603-1627)¹¹⁰. He maintained this position during the reigns of the sons of Zaydān, Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Zaydān (1627-1630) and al-Walīd b. Zaydān (1630-1636) until 1634¹¹¹. In 1634 he lived for a while in Salé, which was an independent Morisco republic at that time. In the same year al-Ḥadjārī left Salé and performed the *ḥadjidj*. After his return he translated in Tunis some works from Arabic into Spanish which were apparently meant for Moriscos who still found it easier to read Spanish than Arabic¹¹². Parts of these works can be found in Bologna, B.U MS 565 (Saa 69)¹¹³.

The contents of this MS are probably faithful reflections of the sort of works valued by lettered Moriscos in Tunis and elsewhere in the diaspora. The MS exists of several treatises, the first of which occupies folios 1-114v, entitled “Coronica y relación de la esclareçida deçendencia xarifa: los que binieron de Ali ebnu abitalib y la muerte de el Huçain, radia lahu anhu, y los que fueron prosiguiendo dél y otras cosas no menos curiosas que probechosas, traducidas de arabigo en castellano en tunez, año de 1049”¹¹⁴.

¹⁰⁹ f. 133v, in: *AT*, vol. 2, p. 457.

¹¹⁰ Sarnelli, “Lo scrittore”, p. 600.

¹¹¹ A Spanish translation of an Arabic letter to the Duke of Medinasidonia dated 14 *Muḥarram* 1023/ 20 February 1614 in AGS Estado, Costas de Africa y Levante, leg. 495.

¹¹² See Bologna, B.U. 565, f. 116r, where we read: “conozco que los mas de los andaluzes españoles entienden mas bien la lengua de rromance que la lengua grammatical arabiga en que estan escritas”.

¹¹³ This MS occupies a central place in Penella Roma's thesis, *Los Moriscos españoles emigrados al Norte de Africa*, which was unfortunately inaccessible to me. I have consulted the summary published under the same title and other publications on the subject by the same author, such as “Introduction au Ms D 565”.

¹¹⁴ Bologna, B.U. 565, f. IIr.

The year 1049/1639 is at the same time the latest date of completion of an Islamic Spanish MS of which I know. The translator of this treatise may be Ybrahim Taybili. He is also the author of a poem dealing with the “contradición de los catorçe artículos de la fe cristiana, missa y sacrificios” by Muhammad Alguazir. Taybili completed this poem in 1037/1627-8 in Testour. It is a poetical comment on a religious polemic by Muḥammad Alguazir, which will be discussed below. In the epilogue of that work Taybili announces that he has already prepared a first version of a translation from Arabic into Spanish, a work in prose about the death of “Haçan, ibnu Hali Ybnu Abi Talib”¹¹⁵. Folios 116r-200r have all been written in the hand of al-Ḥaḍjarī. This part includes:

f. 116r-120r: Introduction to the translation found on the following pages, laudatory poems by the above-mentioned Morisco poet and al-Ḥaḍjarī himself. On f. 117r we read that al-Ḥaḍjarī hoped to translate “dos cuerpos de livros del çioti que no tratan de otra cosa sino de las ynformaciones generales de los milagros que hizo nuestro sancto profecta”. Here al-Ḥaḍjarī refers to books written by the well-known author Djalāl al-dīn al-Suyūṭī (849/1145-911/1505), probably *Al-muʿdǧizāt wa 'l-khaṣā'is al-nabawiyya*¹¹⁶. Such a translation has not come down to us.

f. 120r-146r: Translation of several chapters of Qaḍī ʿIyād's *kitāb al-shifāʾ*. This part was finished in the Qasba of Salé on 11 Rabīʿ I 1044/ 4 September 1634.

f. 146r-167r: Autobiographical notes of al-Ḥaḍjarī which were apparently of interest to the exiled Moriscos¹¹⁷.

f. 168r-200r: Translation of a *khutba* held on the occasion of ʿīd al-*fītr*:

esta es ynterpretación de un sermon que hizo en arabigo un gran savio se entiende que fue en los fines del mes de rramadan y se hizo la ynterpretación a pedimiento del hache muhmed Rrubio Andaluz por manos del siervo de los siervos de Allah, Ehmed bencaçim Bejarano hijo de Ahhmed hijo del alfaqui Caçim hijo del saig el Hhachari Andaluz. Hizose en Tunez estando de buelta del hiche. El qual avia asistido en Marruecos después que pasó de España treynta y seis años, adonde fue ynterprete del rrey Muley

¹¹⁵ f. 118v.

¹¹⁶ Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-tahadduth*, p. 107, *Husn al-muḥādara*, vol. 1, p. 340.

¹¹⁷ They mainly correspond to passages of *Nāṣir al-dīn*, but also include a letter sent by al-Ḥaḍjarī from Paris to Moriscos in Constantinople in 1611, see Wiegers, *A learned Muslim Acquaintance*, pp. 33-44.

Zeiden y de sus hijos, que Dios perdone, que fueron rreyes después dél.

f. 201r-304v: "Fardes, çunas y fadilas del guado y çala del madhab del çayd abu hanifa". This is a treatise on the rules of the *ṣalāt* according to the Hanafite *madhhab*. From other sources we know that the *madhhab* of Abū Ḥanīfa counted followers among the exiled Moriscos in Tunis, no doubt partly due to the presence of the Turks, who had conquered it in 982/1574.

f. 305r-314r: "Estos son los días buenos o menguados de cada luna".

The picture which emerges from the contents of this *maḍimū'a* is that of cultured Moriscos in exile who knew Arabic and translated into Spanish religious works which, as far as I know, were no longer extant in 16th-century Spain, such as the works of Qādī 'Iyād and al-Suyūṭī. This was done for the benefit of those Moriscos who did not know Arabic. The translation of this particular MS was paid for by a rich Morisco, Mohamed Rubio, who is mentioned on f. 115v. We read that one should pray a *ḥaṭiḥa* for the owner of the MS, Mohamed Rubio from "Billafeliche", who paid for the translation of the book for the benefit of those of his "*tayfa*" (Ar.: *al-tā'ifa*), his ethnic group.

This picture is confirmed by the evidence of Madrid, R.A.H. MS S2, another work dealing with religion. It was probably written after 1630¹¹⁸. Its contents slightly resemble the *Tratado y Declaración y Guía* (discussed above), as appears from the description by Oliver Asín¹¹⁹. It is a paraenetic treatise and the Arabic sources upon which it is based are explicitly mentioned. It can be seen that the majority of these sources was not extant in 16th century Spain¹²⁰.

Moreover, in the first part of this work the author intercalates many citations of 16th-century Spanish writers, such as Lope de Vega and others. This shows his affinity with Spanish writings other than Muslim ones, and in this he is in agreement with Ybrahim Taybili and other Moriscos who wrote after the expulsion. In the prologue to his aforesaid poem, for example, Taybili describes how he had bought books by Pedro de Mexía, Miguel de

¹¹⁸ Oliver Asín, "Un Morisco de Túnez", p. 421.

¹¹⁹ Oliver Asín, *op. cit.*, pp. 439-42.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 446.

Cervantes and Antonio de Guevara on the market of Alcalá de Henares in 1604¹²¹.

But these exiled Andalusians had still more in common. Both the author of Madrid R.A.H. S 2 and Ybrahim Taybili had known a certain degree of well-being in Spain¹²². This seems also to have been true for al-Ḥadjarī, who did not belong to the very large class of Moriscos who worked mainly as day-labourers and craftsmen, and of whom it has been estimated that 98 percent were illiterate. One wonders whether people such as Taybili and the author of Madrid R.A.H. S 2 ever lived as crypto-Muslims in Spain. Did they practice Islam secretly¹²³, or did they belong to the probably small, but nevertheless existent group of Moriscos who had been completely assimilated? Can we be sure that they were Moriscos at all? Taybili does not say explicitly that he was. But since he was born in Toledo and says that he had begun to write a book (which unfortunately has not come down to us) about "the expulsion and emigration of the nation [i.e. the Moriscos] from Spain, and its causes, with all vicissitudes during the voyage and in France, Africa and Barbary, in prose and verse..."¹²⁴, it seems certain. Other authors of Spanish writings in North Africa may, however, not have been Moriscos.

The author who is called Juan Alonso, for example, was born of Christian parents. He took a degree in theology (*maestro en teulujía*), which was not very common among the Moriscos. In Madrid, B.N. 9653 we read about him that he went to Tetouan (North Morocco) in order to find the true religion, thus renouncing a secure income:

Mucho había que decir en este particular contradiciendo el heror de la trinidad como assi lo hiço en vn libro particular que conpusso el maestro Juan Alonso, maestro en teulujía, trayendo testos de todas sus escripturas y con ellas mesmas contradice la falssa seta que siguen y lo çiego que están en ella como él tanbién lo confiessa, siendo hijo de padres cristianos, pero guiado de vna buena conssideración referida con la dedicatoria que hiço a la ssoberana alteça, que no atendiendo a ssi sus padres fueran moros, judíos ni cristianos buscaba desengañarse y saber la berdad de lo que le

¹²¹ Bernabé, *El cántico islámico*, p. 153.

¹²² Bernabé supposes that they might be the same person, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

¹²³ See Harvey, "Crypto-Islam", *passim*.

¹²⁴ Bernabé, *El cántico islámico*, p. 267: "...otro libro de la espulsión y salida de la naçion de España y las causas de ella, con todos los çuçosos en biaje y cassos çuçedidos en Françia, en Africa, en Berbería, en prossa y berso...".

conbenía, considerando y mirando los tres caminos de las tres leyes, qual dellos era el que guiaba a la salbaçión, para caminar por él, y hallándola como la halló se bino a Tetuán a siguiarla y dejando rentas exçesibas se contentó con el trabaxo de su perssona, ocupado en ganar su sustento misserablemente¹²⁵.

It indeed seems likely, as Cardaillac supposes, that this man was a priest from Old Christian descent who had converted to Islam¹²⁶. From the recent study on the vicissitudes of the 'renegades'¹²⁷ by B. and L. Bennassar it appears that voluntary conversions to Islam were not at all exceptional among the clergy in those days¹²⁸. But even though Juan Alonso cannot be considered a Morisco, he is nevertheless the author of two small works of instruction for the benefit of expelled Moriscos. He wrote these works -as was said before- in Tunis¹²⁹.

The exiled Moriscos are sometimes hard to distinguish from the renegades. First of all, they were no longer called Moriscos, but Andalusians (in Arabic: *Andalus*) or *Granadinos* (Granadan Moriscos), *Tagarinos* (from: Aragon, the border, Ar.: *thaghr*, with Christian territory in the early Middle Ages). Like the renegades the Moriscos (re)assumed Muslim names and finally, both renegades and exiled Moriscos were particularly active in piracy and the slave trade. The conclusion that both groups intermingled is also reached by Epalza in his study on the documents of the French Consulate Records in Tunis¹³⁰. Renegades were also found at the court of the Moroccan sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr and his successors where Spanish was still spoken in 1643¹³¹.

From the evidence discussed above it appears that the horizon widened for the Moriscos after the expulsion. An important factor was in Morocco the emerging relations with the Christian states in Northern Europe, above all the Low Countries, with which

¹²⁵ Madrid, B.N. MS 9653, f. 12v, cf. Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, pp. 168-9.

¹²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 164: "il semble bien que nous ayons là l'oeuvre d'un Chrétien nouvellement converti à l'Islam; et même une telle connaissance des textes sacrés et la grande familiarité de l'auteur avec l'administration des sacrements ... nous conduisent dès maintenant à nous poser la question: l'auteur ne serait-il pas un prêtre passé à l'Islam?"

¹²⁷ This derogatory term is still the only one in modern scientific usage.

¹²⁸ *Les Chrétiens d'Allah*, p. 251 ff.

¹²⁹ Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, pp. 164-68.

¹³⁰ Epalza, "Moriscos y Andalusíes en Túnez durante el siglo XVII", p. 257.

¹³¹ According to fray Matías de San Francisco in his *Relación del viaje que hizo a Marruecos* fray Juan de Prado, chapter VIII, apud Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent, *Historia*, p. 231; Bennassar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah*, pp. 400-11.

Morocco concluded a treaty in 1610¹³². These contacts implied not only the beginning of an exchange of goods but also of ideas. The contacts with Northern Europe may have been the reason why Muhammad Alguazir wrote his *apología contra los artículos de la ley cristiana*, a work which has attracted the attention of several scholars. Hajji devoted attention to him¹³³ and it was an important polemical source for Cardaillac's *Morisques et Chrétiens*¹³⁴. I devoted some attention to Alguazir in a study on al-Ḥadjārī, and argued that this work was perhaps originally not meant to be read by Moriscos but by Christians¹³⁵.

Alguazir's polemical work was known in only one MS, Madrid, B.N. 9074. Recently Harvey discovered a second MS at Wadham College, Oxford¹³⁶. From the examples given by Harvey in his article on that MS it appears that the text of Madrid, B.N. 9074 and the Oxford MS are very closely related. The latter contains some additional material which is not found in the Madrid MS, but that is of no relevance here. Alguazir's treatise was also well-known among the Moriscos. The work which the aforesaid Ybrahim Taybili wrote in 1628 is basically a versification of Alguazir's work¹³⁷.

Cardaillac mentions as birthplace of Muhammad Alguazir the Castilian town Pastrana, but this is not stated in the Madrid MS and nor, according to Harvey, in the Oxford MS¹³⁸. In fact, the source of this information is the afore-mentioned Ybrahim Taybili, who remarks: "y abiendo bisto un libro que a mis manos bino cuyo autor fue Muhámad Alguaçir, beçino que fue de Pastrana, y al pressente de la ynsigne çiudad de MaRuecos [sic] en que contradiçe la falssa ley cristiana ..." ¹³⁹.

¹³² See Wiegers, *A learned Muslim Acquaintance*, pp. 10-20.

¹³³ *La vie intellectuelle*, vol. 1, p. 191.

¹³⁴ See p. 187 and index.

¹³⁵ *A learned Muslim Acquaintance*, pp. 14-5.

¹³⁶ Harvey, "A second Morisco Manuscript at Wadham College: A 18-15", *passim*.

¹³⁷ Taybili's poem is dedicated to "ʿAlī Alnigualī abençeraje (ʿAlī al-Niwālī ibn Sarraǧī, see al-Turkī, "Wathāʾiq", p. 25), cahia del ylustissimo y excelentismo señor Mißguar de los sarifes y administrador de las rentas y hacienda del ylustisime señor Yuçuf Day capitan jeneral y gobernador del reyno de Tuneß". According to Bernabé, *cahia* can be rendered as substitute. *Mizwār* is a word of Berber origin which can be rendered as controller, sc. of the nobles, those people who claim to belong to the *ahl al-bayt*, the family of the prophet Muhammad, and who for that reason sometimes claim certain privileges. See on this office in Morocco Beck, *L'image d'Idrīs II*, p. 181 ff.

¹³⁸ Harvey, "A second Morisco manuscript", p. 269.

¹³⁹ Bernabé, *El cántico islámico*, p. 140.

Both in Madrid, B.N. 9074 and the Oxford MS we read that the work was compiled by order of Mawlāy Zaydān: "... por avermelo mandado el potentissimo uirtuosso socorredor y grande engrandezido justo y ssublizador Rey i gobernador de los moros, muley Zaidan, que Dios enssalçe y anpare"¹⁴⁰. The author also says in the introduction:

... so that this book may serve the purpose which it intends, namely to discover the truth of the highest word¹⁴¹ of the Unicity, for because of the error of the Trinity innumerable souls go to hell and although it is true that this task is not suited for someone with my inferior intelligence, there being so many scholars among the Moors who wrote about this subject. But because these works are written in Arabic, which the Christians do not understand [sic] I dared to do so, because I know Spanish, since I was educated among the Christians and know the Law and traditions they follow¹⁴².

Can it be deduced that the author was actually writing for people whom he considers to be Christians, rather than, as Cardaillac assumed, for fellow-Moriscos¹⁴³?

One of the first ambassadors of Mawlāy Zaydān to the Low Countries, Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh, wrote a polemic against Christianity directed to Maurice, Prince of Orange, which (translated into Latin, probably by the Dutch Arabist Thomas Erpenius) went through several printings¹⁴⁴. Comparison shows that the Latin

¹⁴⁰ Madrid, B.N. 9074, f. 2r, cf. Harvey, "A second Morisco Manuscript", p. 267.

¹⁴¹ A reference to the testimony of faith, the *shahāda*, which is sometimes called *al-kalimatain*, "the two words", namely that God is one, and Muhammad His Prophet.

¹⁴² Madrid, B.N. 9074, f. 1v-2r: ... "Para queste livro tenga el fin que del se pretende ques descubrir la verdad de la altissima palabra de la unidad, pues por el horror de la trinidad tanta infinidad de almas ban al infierno y haunque es berdad questa hobra no pertenezia a mi torpe entendimiento por haber tan grandes sabios entre los moros que en este particular an escripto pero por abello escripto en arabigo y los Xpianos no lo entienden atrebime por entender la lengua castellana, por // aberme criado entre los chistianos [sic] y saber y entender la ley i costumbres que guardan".

¹⁴³ Cardaillac, *Moriques et Chrétiens*, p. 187, "Il entreprend d'écrire ce livre polémique parce que, dit-il, les livres qui ont été écrits sur ce sujet sont tous en arabe et que ses compatriotes, élevés parmi les Chrétiens, ne les comprennent pas".

¹⁴⁴ See Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, pp. 117-8. I base myself below on Grapius's edition, *Ahmet ben-Abdala. Mohamedani epistola*. Rostock 1705. I am grateful to Mr. R. Smitskamp (Leiden) for drawing my attention to this text. On the nationality of Ahmad b. ʿAbdallāh see: De Castries, *Sources inédites*, Pays Bas, vol. 1, p. 524 (apud Wijnman, "De Hebraïcus Jan Theunisz.", p. 15 n. 45) where we read that Ahmad b. ʿAbdallāh was born in Biscay and was of Christian descent. This corresponds with the assessment in the Rostock edition of the Epistola, in which we see that he was "natione Cantaber", i.e. Cantabria, a region in Northern Spain. His *nisba* was al-Marunī.

polemic is a faithful translation of Muḥammad Alguazir's polemic. Compare for example p. 33 of the *Epistola* and Madrid, B.N. 9074, f. 6r-v. Ahmet ben-Abdalla, *Epistola*, reads:

Articuli fidei sunt qvatuordecim. Septem primi pertinent divinitati, septem reliqui humanitati. Qvatvuor primi sunt isti. Primvs credere in unum solum DEUM 2 Credere eum esse Patrem 3. Credere eum esse Filium 4. Credere eum esse Spiritum Sanctum. hi qvatuor ita sibi invicem contradicunt, ut vix sit opus refutatione, et certe hic error de trinitate maximus est omnium. //p. 35// Nullus enim humanus intellectus potest percipere vel etiam intelligere, unum et idem esse Patrem, Filium et Spiritum S. in unicā solā essentiā et uno eodem tempore.

Muhammad Alguazir, *Apología*:

Capitulo primero de la contradizion de los quatro articulos primeros // que sson creher en un ssolo Dios todopoderosso el ssegundo creher ques padre el terçero creher ques hijo el quatro ques espirito santo son estos quatro atributos tan contrarios en ssi que cassi no tienen nezesidad de contradizion pues ellos mismos se contradizen haçiendo que uno ssea padre y ese mismo sea hijo y ese mismo sea espiritu ssanto, en un tiempo y en una exsencia ...

There can be no doubt that this is the same text. It follows that an Arabic original of this Latin polemic, which was posited by Steinschneider, never existed: it was probably originally written in Spanish. The Rostock edition of the Latin translation contains a colophon dated "Marochii in principio anni mille et viginti unum del [sic, 'del' is the untranslated Spanish definite article] Haxara Domini nostri Mahumeti"¹⁴⁵, i.e. Marrakesh, beginning of the year 1021, probably March or April 1612. It was therefore written after Aḥmad b. °Abdallāh had returned to Marrakesh, and that was probably in 1611, since he had left the Low Countries about New Year's Day of that year¹⁴⁶. This may also explain why anabaptists are mentioned in Alguazir's treatise: Aḥmad b. °Abdallāh had met them in the Netherlands¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 126.

¹⁴⁶ Wijnman, "De Hebraïcus Jan Theunisz.", p. 17.

¹⁴⁷ Madrid, B.N. 9074, "de opiniones contrarias son Calbinos, Luteranos, Anabatistas, y en efecto los que desmienten el papa y ofizios de la misa y sacramentos [sic] y imagenes (...)", apud Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, p. 126; Ahmet ben-Abdalla, *Epistola*, p. 94: "Praeterea omnes qvotqvot in Orbe sunt Christiani, inter se sunt contrarii opinionibus, ut Calvinistae, Lutheranae, Anabaptistae et tandem, omnes illi, qui faciunt pontificem vel papam mendacem, ejus Missam [...]".

Conclusion

In none of the works we have discussed above can the influence of Yça Gidelli be found. The writings under scrutiny show that the 'Sitz im Leben' of Islamic Spanish literature after the expulsion was quite different from the 'Sitz im Leben' of that literature in Spain. It appears that the earliest writing by a Morisco in Spanish after the expulsion, Muhammad Alguazir's polemic, probably has its origin in international relations and may have been intended to be read by the Prince of Orange. But in spite of this the work was read and commented on by exiled Moriscos in North Africa such as Ybrahim Taybili.

The character of some works written for the instruction of exiled Moriscos does not differ very much from the paraenetic writings we have studied in the preceding sections. This is not strange, for in some respects the history of these people repeated itself. Like their antecedents centuries before, the learned men among the exiled Moriscos, and also certain cultured renegades such as Juan Alonso who became involved in the exiled Morisco communities, translated works into Spanish for the instruction of the ordinary people. But now there was abundant source material in Arabic at hand to draw from, and perhaps for this reason no attempt was made to continue peninsular writings. We have seen above how Morisco literary culture deteriorated between 1525 and 1609. It may be assumed that, compared to the rich literary culture in North Africa, the peninsular religious tradition in Spanish had become obsolete. Moreover, compared to Mudejar and peninsular Morisco scholars, these learned exiled Moriscos were much more impregnated with Spanish culture. It is remarkable that no writings written by such lettered Moriscos in Spain itself have survived. Why did the literary culture of the peninsular Moriscos remain relatively poor if men of letters of the calibre of Ybrahim Taybili were counted among their numbers? Did they perhaps only begin to write in exile, or is it simply that their works have been lost?

CHAPTER SIX

YÇA OF SEGOVIA AND THE HISTORY OF ISLAMIC SPANISH LITERATURE

VI.1. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ARABIC AND THE SPANISH LITERARY CULTURE OF THE MUSLIMS IN CHRISTIAN SPAIN

From the preceding discussion of the influence of Yça Gidelli the impression arises that Islamic works which were originally composed in Spanish gradually became more isolated from the Arabic heritage after the forcible conversions. I now wish to examine whether this impression is correct, and whether something can be said about the relationship between Arabic and Spanish literary culture among the Muslims in Christian Spain in general. Did Spanish literary culture replace the Arabic literary culture, or did both cultures exist side by side? The answer to this problem is of some importance, since it might clarify the role of Yça Gidelli in the history of Islamic literature in the vernacular.

As will be seen below, it is generally assumed that Islamic Spanish literature is popular literature, but before we examine whether that is true, we will have to ask ourselves which criterion to follow, for any assertion about the relationship between Arabic and Spanish Islamic literature in Christian Spain is weakened by uncertainties subsisting in the terms 'popular' and 'official', especially in the field of Islam. With respect to this opposition we should first of all not overlook the fact that Sunni Islam had no institutions which established orthodoxy in the same way as the Catholic councils did during the Middle Ages, although this is of course far from saying that in Islamic states (and al-Andalus and Granada were no exceptions) trials and condemnations of heretics did not take place¹. The minority position of Islam in Christian Spain, moreover, adds the problem of the absence of a sovereign Islamic state with its appointed officials, which deprives us of the

¹ An analogous institution is perhaps *idjma'*, the consensus of the community of Believers, see EI² s.v. [art. M. Bertrand].

possibility to use the notions 'official' and 'popular' in opposition to one another.

Some theories brought forth by the science of religion are of limited value for the definition of these terms. Waardenburg proposes the terms normative instead of official². He argues:

if one of its [Islam's] characteristics is the constant search for clear norms for human life on the basis of a well-defined revelation, 'normative Islam' is that form of Islam through which man has access to these ultimate norms for life, action and thought. At once the polarity between 'normative' and 'popular' Islam, as the Islam which is in fact there, becomes evident... In Muslim terms, normative Islam is the *sharīʿa*³.

Waardenburg states, moreover, that this definition "can be used without prejudice for all Muslim groups who appeal to Islam as their norm for individual and social life" and argues that "this normative Islam is recognized by any Muslim", and that "the '*ulamā*' ... are the upholders of it". The objection which can be put forward against any phenomenological definition applies in this case as well: It remains to be proven whether the *sharīʿa* is the ultimate norm in life for all Muslims⁴. Another approach, departing from the opposition between learned elite and uneducated public is suggested by Kamstra⁵.

Some students of Islamic Spanish literature characterize the relationship between Arabic and Islamic Spanish as the relationship between the literature of the learned elite and the literature of the common people. Chejne, for example, writes: "Unlike Arabic literature, addressed to the erudite, Aljamiado literature was meant for the common man"⁶, but he argues at the same time that the '*ulamā*' and *fuqahā*' resident in Christian Spain were the "auctores intelectuales" of the translation movement of which Islamic Spanish literature is the result⁷. Galmés de Fuentes draws attention to the traditional character of Islamic Spanish literature and - following the theories introduced by Menéndez Pidal- to the different aspects of the traditional style. These aspects are seen as

² "Official and Popular Religion as a problem in Islamic Studies", pp. 357-8.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 357-8.

⁴ Cf. Stolz, *Grundzüge der Religionswissenschaft*, pp. 228-9; Kamstra, "Een moeilijke keuze: de godsdienst van de gewone man", p. 273.

⁵ "Een moeilijke keuze: de godsdienst van de gewone man", *passim*.

⁶ *Islam and the West: the Moriscos*, p. 49.

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 36-37.

the result of the different ways in which the texts were transmitted. The first aspect is individuality, originating in the harmonic cooperation and re-creation of a text by many individuals, a process which encompasses generations: "El texto tradicional vive, de esta forma, sometido durante generaciones a una constante reelaboración y recreación, en un perpetuo movimiento o cambio"⁸. The second aspect of this traditional style is collectivity and anonymity:

... los textos aljamado-moriscos inmersos en corrientes medievales, proceden de una pre-historia manifestada en la profundidad de un pasado anterior -en 'estado latente', según la fructífera tesis de R. Menéndez Pidal- a los textos que poseemos -o que tuvieron expresión en otra lengua, el árabe-, y durante el cual se han formado las tradiciones que en los textos se revelan⁹.

The existence of this anonymous and collective activity is demonstrated by its thematic stability and "tecnicas condicionadas" and in this respect, it is assumed, there is a difference with the Islamic world, for while, according to Galmés, popular literature remained largely oral in *dār al-islām*, it was put into writing among the Muslims in Christian Spain: "... la literatura aljamiado-morisca recoge sin prejuicios, en sus escritos, estas manifestaciones tradicionales que aún perviven en los zocos y en los *asmār* o veladas nocturnas"¹⁰.

Although both Galmés and Chejne consider Islamic Spanish literature to be popular literature, the former denies the '*ulamā*' an important role and perceives the transition from oral Arabic literature to Romance literature as a collective and anonymous process.

Until recently not much attention has been devoted to the Arabic literary culture of the Muslims in Christian Spain¹¹. Recently Van Koningsveld has shown that colophons of MSS are valuable sources for a comparative study of the literary cultures of the religious minorities in Christian Spain¹². He points out that four characteristics of the Arabic MSS circulating among the Muslims can be distinguished: (a) the majority are dated according to both the Islamic and Christian calendars, (b) the majority were copied in

⁸ "La literatura aljamiado-morisca: literatura tradicional", p. 15.

⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 15-6.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

¹¹ Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, pp. 128 ff., idem, "The survival of Arabic culture in Spain after 1492", *passim*.

¹² "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts from Christian Spain", *passim*.

small villages in Aragon, (c) the copyists and scribes were somehow connected with mosques, and (d) the Arabic texts copied are almost exclusively earlier works on religion. In order to resolve the problem discussed above, I wish to draw similar conclusions from the *Spanish* codices circulating among the Muslims and establish whether there are any differences with the Arabic MSS circulating among the Muslims. Can we say, for example, that Islamic Spanish literature was an urban rather than a rural phenomenon or that there are class differences between the copyists of Spanish MSS and those who copied Arabic MSS? An impediment to such a comparison is the fact that the majority of the Spanish Islamic codices do not have a colophon. All those which have a colophon are found in the list below, to which I added those MSS of which it can be shown that the author was a Muslim resident in Christian Spain, and of which it also seems likely that they were completed in Spain. These two categories of Spanish MSS alone should be taken into account in a comparison with *dated* Arabic MSS.

The first question which needs to be answered is whether the number of Arabic MSS diminished after the forcible conversions. Van Koningsveld lists Arabic MSS which undoubtedly circulated in Christian Spain, but unfortunately they are not all dated; and should therefore be excluded¹³. It appears that only four of the fifty-eight remaining MSS, viz. no. 21 (dated 27 September 1603), no. 48 (dated 29 July 1603), no. 50 (1591) and no. 64 (1008 = 1599), were copied after the forcible conversions¹⁴. The ratio of nearly sixty MSS copied before the forcible conversions and only four in Morisco times very strongly suggests that far less Arabic MSS were copied after the forcible conversions.

The picture yielded by the Islamic Spanish MSS is almost the opposite. The earliest dated Spanish MS was copied in 834/1431, and six of the thirty-four MSS in our list were copied before the forcible conversions. The rest was copied after 1525. The majority of the Spanish MSS were copied at the end of the 16th century. From the extant MSS it therefore appears that towards the end of

¹³ Nos. 9, 16, 25, 26, 29, 30, 34, 36, 39, 41, 46, and 68 of his list. No. 56Bis is also excluded because it cannot be demonstrated beyond doubt that this MS circulated in Christian Spain.

¹⁴ Another MS which can be included in this category is described by Van Koningsveld and Samarrai, *Localities and Dates*, no. 202, dated 1002 (= 1593). This MS is almost certainly of Spanish origin.

the 16th century, Islamic Spanish literature did indeed to some extent replace Arabic literature.

Islamic Spanish MSS which can be localized virtually all date from the Morisco period, although a locality is mentioned in a very few MSS with a colophon. Saa 36 was copied by in the village Exea de Albarrazín by Muḥammad Kordilero, son of °Abd al-°Azīz Kordilero, for Muṣṭafar [sic] Waharan, the son of B°rahen Waharan in 1577. In the colophon of Saa 28 a place is mentioned which is impossible to identify (is it a corruption of *madīnat* ...?). The colophons of the MSS of the *Breviario Sunni* are exceptional: they all mention the city of Segovia as the place where the MS was copied, although we have seen above that we are invariably dealing with late 16th or early 17th-century MSS whose colophon was copied together with the MS itself.

Some MSS can be located on the basis of external evidence. Several MSS of the Junta collection were copied in the village of Almonacid itself by members of the Escribano family. Luis Escribano is mentioned in one of the MSS (on the fly-leaf?, f. 391) as follows:

En el año de mil y quinientos y çinquenta y uno naçi yo Luis Escribano fijo de Luis Escribano y de Maria la Monja en los çagueros dias del mes de setiembre y fue bautizado a seis dias del mes de octubre para lo que querrá Alah mi señor y fue mi padrina Cándida de Aboçaque y mi padrino el maestro¹⁵.

This birth-date is confirmed by an Inquisition document of 1597. In that year Luis Escribano was tried because he had allegedly performed Muslim burial rites. The document mentions the fact that Luis Escribano was a *trajinero*¹⁶. That there were two members of one family called Muḥammad Escribano seems to appear from J 6, where we read that it was copied in 1601 by Muḥammad Escribano Mayor. Luis Escribano, the father, living in Almonacid, was therefore probably the same person as Muḥammad Escribano Mayor (it was very common for Moriscos to have a Christian and

¹⁵ That he lived in Almonacid appears from J 98, f. 4v, written in Latin script described as: "Un recibo de veinte escudos otorgado por Melchor Mediana, jurado de *Almonezir de la Sierra* [my italics], á Luis Escribano, en Almonacid, á 21 de Septiembre de 1593".

¹⁶ A.H.N. Inquisición Libro 990, f. 27 (Zaragoza Auto da Fe of 1597), no. 108. It appears that "Luis Escribano, traxinero morisco vezino de Almonaçi (sic) de la Çierra", aged 48, was tried because he had allegedly assisted at burials of other Moriscos and had carried out Muslim funeral rites. The case was suspended because Luis Escribano did not confess in spite of being tortured.

an Islamic name). Muḥammad, or Luis, is the author of part of J 3, and copied three other MSS of the collection: J 6, J 13 and A. In 1587 Muḥammad (Luis) Escribano travelled, as we have seen above, to Lisbon in order to consult a *faqīh* from Fās. He was involved in Islamic studies¹⁷, and -assuming that he is indeed the same as Luis Escribano- performed funeral rites as well. From this it may follow that he carried out the functions of a *faqīh*. Iça Escribano, the scribe of J 14 (?) and C was probably a member of the same family. It is uncertain whether Iça lived in the first half or the second half of the 16th century. The evidence is contradictory. The scribe who copied Saa 55 and 56 (T 232 and 235) probably lived in Villafeliche at the end of the 16th century (see above, IV.4. and IV.5.1.).

It seems likely that some of these Aragonese Moriscos were professional copyists. This also appears for example from Madrid R.A.H. S 1 (Saa 70), f. 140, in which we read: “sacóse de letra de muçlimes [the MS is written in Latin script¹⁸]. Costó su origen 80 sueldos. Queda por copiar una Rogaria de 6 ojas, que por ser en copla y mal compuesta no la e copiado”. That such copyists still existed in Morisco Spain also appears from Fournel Guérin’s study of the literary culture of the Moriscos in Aragon¹⁹. Some scribes had other professions, for example Rodrigo el Rubio of Albeta (Aragon), who copied Saa 61, was a weaver. Finally, Escorial 1880 was copied by Muḥammad Ibn Abi ’l-Anṣārī, *imām* of the *aljama* of ‘Adat Aghrīz’. He completed it on 31 December 976/1568²⁰. From the above it appears that Islamic Spanish MSS were mainly copied in Aragonese villages by professional scribes and *fuqahā’*.

With the exception of MS no. 64 in the list of Van Koningsveld, the Arabic MSS copied by Moriscos are all dated according to the Christian calendar, whereas the MSS copied by Mudejars are almost all dated according to the Christian month and to the *hidjira* year. In the earliest Mudejar MSS, nos. 57 and 58, the dates are not yet ‘mixed’. They are dated according to the Islamic calendar

¹⁷ J 3 (apud Kontzi, *AT*, vol. 2, p. 464) f. 138r: “i akesto es lo ke a llegado a mí de la lletura del-alqur’ān de los alqitābis i de boder de los sabi’os, a mí, Muḥammad esq’ribano (...)”; f. 165r: “digo bor un sabi’o d-esta ti’erra i bor ot’ro sabi’o de Fez ke me lo diso a mí, Muḥammad esq’ribano en Lisboa, sobre unas demandas qe le demandé yo”.

¹⁸ The use of the term “letras de muçlimes” clearly seems to indicate that the Muslims in Christian Spain did not employ the term *aljama* in this sense.

¹⁹ “Le livre et la civilisation écrite”, *passim*.

²⁰ Apud: Kontzi, *AT*, vol. 2, p. 776.

only. In none of these Arabic MSS of Morisco origin is the office of the scribe mentioned. When we now turn to the Spanish MSS with a colophon listed below, we will see that mixed datings are to be observed here as well. Mudejar MSS are dated according to the *hidjra* year in combination with an Islamic or Christian month (this confirms the early dating of Madrid B.N. 5319 (Saa 18), see Chapter III.5.1). The Morisco MSS are dated either with Christian year, or, as Saa 28 and 36, dated according to the Christian and Islamic calendar. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.IV.701 (1) is only dated according to the *hidjra* year, but this MS was probably copied in Salonika by Muḥammad Rabadan, who, as we have seen, was born in Rueda de Jalón in Aragon, where he had written his *Discurso de la Luz*. Even before the expulsion Salonika was the dwelling place of a Morisco community, as can be seen in Paris B.N. Ar. 774: the (anonymous) author of the itinerary included in this MS advises those who wished to go to Turkey to tell the Venetian merchants “ke tenéys ermanos en Salónika y ke keréys ir all²¹”. Paris B.N. Ar. 447 was copied in Salonika by Ibrahim Isquierdo in 976/1569. The only striking exception is provided by the ‘colophon’ of all five MSS of the *Breviario Sunni*: although it is a Mudejar text, it is only dated according to the Christian calendar.

The majority of the colophons of the Islamic Spanish MSS are written in Arabic. The colophon of the Morisco MSS Saa 36 and Florence MS II.IV 701 (1) are in Spanish, while the colophons of two other Morisco MSS Saa 55 and 132 are written in a mixture of Arabic and Spanish. The four MSS of the *Breviario Sunni*, although of Mudejar origin, also have colophons in Spanish, and in this respect they are exceptional as well.

VI.2. THE AUTHORS OF ISLAMIC SPANISH LITERATURE

Until now we have only examined the time when Islamic Spanish MSS were copied. Another matter of course is the question of when the translation movement itself was carried out. Since the identity of the majority of the translators remains unknown we do not know when translations of popular works, such as those by al-Samar-

²¹ Paris, B.N. Ar. 774 (See: *El Manuscrito misceláneo 774*), f. 39v.

qandī, Ibn al-Djallāb²², and Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, were made. It seems very improbable, however, that the fall of Granada was the most important factor in the birth of Islamic Spanish literature. We have seen that as early as the 12th century there are indications that a Romance vernacular may have been in use in an Islamic environment, although it is not until the late 14th or early 15th century that Spanish Islamic MSS circulated in Spain. The first author whom we know by name is Yça Gidelli, a *faqīh* and inhabitant of Segovia, a town in the most assimilated part of Mudejar Spain, Old Castile. It remains uncertain whether it was el Mancebo who brought the literary tradition of Yça Gidelli to Aragon²³. Curiously enough, although some of Yça's works were widely read, others, such as the polemic with Juan López de Salamanca, have disappeared without leaving any trace in Islamic Spanish literature. This may seem strange, but perhaps we should not forget that the conquests of parts of Islamic Spain were always followed by the flight of the learned elite to *dār al-islām*: Islam in Christian Spain was a scattered culture.

The ratio of MSS dated before and after 1455 indicates that Yça probably had a strong influence on the status of Spanish as a medium of written expression among the Muslims in Christian Spain. At the end of the Mudejar period and the beginning of the Morisco period we witness in Aragon even the beginning of a scholarly use of Spanish. I discovered that the 'eminent' *faqīh* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ghazālī from Belchite wrote an Arabic-Aljamiado glossary on al-Ghazālī's *Mizān al-ʿamal*, of which only a fragment survives in R.A.H. T 12, listed in appendix 1. If it had not been followed by the forcible conversions, resulting in renewed emigrations of the elite of sword and pen and in the further deterioration of Islam, we might perhaps have expected the appearance of complete translations into Spanish of al-Ghazālī's works²⁴.

El Mancebo de Arévalo, who probably lived between the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, followed in Yça's footsteps. He may have earned a living as a digger, and set off in search of religious instruction, preaching from time to time. He was

²² According to Gayangos, *MHE* V, p. 9, *Kitāb al-tafrīf fī'l-fiqh* was translated by a certain 'Abdallāh al-mu'allim.

²³ Cf. Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, p. 437.

²⁴ See also the list in appendix 1, D contains a partial translation of al-Ghazālī's *Al-bidāya wa 'l-hidāya*.

apparently esteemed by the Mudejars and later the Moriscos, and seen as a 'devout' man. His travels were paid for by richer members of the community. Perhaps he was particularly esteemed in Aragon because he was an 'outsider', who, coming from Castile and having had a Christian upbringing, was supposed to be 'learned' in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. El Mancebo's writings were taken up and versified by Muḥammad Rabadan at the beginning of the 17th century, while the *Breviario Sunni* was adopted by Mohanmad Devera in Exea de Albarrazín.

From our examination of the works of Yça Gidelli (chapter IV), of all original Islamic Spanish works (chapter V), and the above, it can be concluded that the Mudejar and Morisco authors of Islamic Spanish texts were members of the learned religious elite, and that the texts they wrote were intended for the religious instruction of the common people. A remark in J 20 of which folios 1-34 include several *khutbas* in Arabic seems to confirm this conclusion. Concerning *khutba* no. 3 the copyist remarks: "another *khutba*, not one of [the *khutbas* of] Ibn Nubāta, it is a blessed one and suited to render it translated in 'adjamiyya for the common people"²⁵.

VI.3. THE RELIGIOUS STATUS OF ISLAMIC SPANISH LITERATURE

VI.3.1. *Changes in al-Andalus and among the Mudejars*

In some Islamic Spanish works apologies are made for the use of Spanish instead of Arabic and in one case Spanish is even characterized as the "language of the Christian dogs". As I have argued in chapter II, derogatory remarks about the religious status of the Spanish language cannot be connected with unfavourable opinions

²⁵ J 20, f. 24r: "*khutba* *ukhrā* li-ʿid al-adhā *ghayr* Nabātiyya, wa hiya mubāraka, in *shā* Allāh, hasana li-raddahā bi 'l-ʿadjamiyya mutardjima lil-ʿamma". The sermons of Ibn Nubāta al-Fāriqī (b. ca. 335/946?) must have been quite popular among the Mudejars, as appears from the fact that they are found in J 17, J 100, and appendix B of the Junta collection (on Ibn Nubāta, see EI² s.v. [art. M. Canard]). It is not clear whether these particular sermons were actually delivered in Spanish. In any case there is firm evidence that *khutbas* were given in Spanish already in the 15th century, while the abundant number of *khutbas* in Spanish in 16th century MSS indicates that it may even have been the prevailing custom to do so by then (see Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, p. 112).

of vernacular literature in works on *kalām* or on *fiqh*. How are such remarks to be explained? I will argue that such apologies depend on political and social circumstances.

In the preceding chapters we have seen that al-Shāfiʿī defined the place of the Arabic language in Muslim culture in the context of a discussion on the nature of the Qurʾān. This definition of the place of Arabic also marked the place of non-Arabic languages. In the same chapter we have examined the practical consequences of this sort of discussion for everyday life in al-Andalus through the *fatwās* given by Ibn Rushd concerning individuals who had transgressed certain rules. The man who had said that he recited *sūrat Yūsuf* in *ʿadjamiyya* had coupled this with derogatory remarks about the nature of the Arabic language. The learned man who had said that there is no need of the language of the Arabs was probably tried because he possibly intended to harm the religion.

The Almohad movement stimulated the use of the vernacular in Morocco in order to spread the Almohad doctrine among the population and we have seen that the same sort of stimulus may have been at work in al-Andalus and among the Muslims in Christian Spain. The coming into being of Mudejar Islam entailed the increase of the written use of the vernacular among many Muslims in Christian Spain, but although a stay among the Unbelievers was strongly disapproved of in *fiqh* works²⁶, the use of the Spanish vernacular among the Mudejars was never mentioned in historical works or works on *fiqh* of this period. It was only at the end of the 15th century that al-Wanṣharīṣī alluded indirectly to this aspect in a *fatwā*, mentioning a place spelled Abulla (?) (possibly to be identified as Avila in Old Castile) as an example of the truth of the assertion that where the Arabic language is lost, Islam will soon follow²⁷. Yet, this can hardly be seen as an attack on the use of a literary language other than Arabic.

In several early Islamic Spanish sources the use of Spanish is even qualified as agreeable. Escorial 1880, for example, contains

²⁶ Arié mentions in *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232-1492)*, p. 419 n. 3, a treatise in which Muhammad b. al-Fakhkhār al-Djudhāmī (died 713/1314) attacks Muslims living in Christian territory. This work -now lost- was entitled *Kitāb al-djawāb al-mukhtaṣar al-marūm fī taḥrīm suknaʾ l-muslimīn bi-bilād al-rām*. This author was well-known among the Mudejars, see J 14 in appendix 1.

²⁷ *Miṣṣar*, vol. 2, p. 141.

a *khuṭba* for *ʿīd al-adḥā*, which was translated into Spanish and versified because that would be more pleasant and suitable²⁸:

Esto es del alkhoṭba de pascua de rramadān sacada de arabi en ajami eyarrímase en copla porque seya mas amorosa á los oyentes é ayan p^alazer de escoitarla e obrar por ella porque alcancen por ella el gualardon que allah prometió en ella á todos: bien aderece nos allah á todo que seya su serbiçio. amen²⁹.

And at the end these words are rephrased as follows:

Acabase 'l alkhoṭbah y p^arencipia una almadḥa de alabandça al annabi Mohammad, šl^cm, que fue sacada de arabī en ajamī porque fuese mas p^alaziante de la leir y escoitar en aquesta tierra...³⁰.

Here it is even stated that *ʿadjamī* is to be preferred to Arabic because it is more “agreeable in this country”³¹. The same MS includes a poem called “alabança ada Allah” which according to the author is so extensive that he can only quote it partly, and “puselo en ʿajamī segun la ti^aerra, porke mesor lo enti^aendan los mayores i los menores de Allah por su g^arasi'a e bendiçiyón”³². There is clearly a connection between the use of the vernacular and the spread of religious ideas.

With regard to Yça Gidelli's activity several reasons why he translated the Qur'ān and wrote his *Breviario Sunni* have been discussed above. But there is more to be said about his motives. Besides the accusations (the *infamias*), Yça Gidelli indicates, as we have seen, that he was spurred on by “that lofty authority which commands us and tells us that any creature who knows something (N 1 reads ‘everything’) of the Law ought to teach the Qur'ān to all

²⁸ Although this is a 16th-century MS, we may assume that we are dealing with a Mudejar text, cf. Bussell Thompson, “La Alhoṭba arrimada”, *passim*.

²⁹ Müller, “Morisco-Gedichte”, p. 201. I have not changed the transcription.

³⁰ Müller, “Morisco-Gedichte”, p. 217.

³¹ We should not overlook that although it is customary to give the *khuṭba* in Arabic, in places where the faithful do not understand it, *khuṭbas* are given sometimes in other languages (EI² s.v. [art. A.J. Wensinck]). This must have been the case in Christian Spain. There is other evidence that the *khuṭbas* were given in Spanish. The 15th century MS Madrid, R.A.H. V 12 contains a fragment of a bilingual *khuṭba* (Saa 105: “2 hojas en 4o. Letra y papel de Aragón [sic] de mediados del siglo XIV [sic!]. Fragmento de una alhoṭba con traducción castellana ...”). The folios are not attached to each other. No watermarks. Paper with very vague chainlines, 2-2.5 mm apart. The paper resembles the paper of R.A.H. V 7. Arabic and Spanish text with Latin script, except for the word Allāh. The same ink is used for both the Arabic and Spanish text. R.A.H. V 15 contains 21 folios of *khuṭbas* in which Arabic and Aljamiado are written interlinearly. The watermarks in this MS seem to indicate an early 15th century origin.

³² f. 36v, apud Kontzi, *AT*, vol. 2, p. 766.

creatures in the world in such a language they may understand it". This phrase expresses a favourable attitude towards teaching the Islamic Faith in languages other than Arabic to all creatures, including Unbelievers. Yça mentioned a similar opinion in his letter to Juan de Segovia, in which he points out that there is an analogy between his task and the seven tasks of the angels. We have seen that this is probably a reference to their task of bringing the revelations to man.

Which opinion he expresses with "en lenguaje que lo entiendan, si es posible" is not entirely clear. A possible explanation might be that Yça doubted whether it was possible to understand the Qur'ān fully in Romance. In that case, the background of the expression would be complex linguistic and theological theories about the relationship between Arabic and other languages or the doctrine of *īdjāz al-Qur'ān*³³. Another explanation may be that he meant to say "teach the Qur'ān to all creatures in such a language that they understand it, if there is an occasion to do so". But in that case one would rather have expected him to say "if it is necessary to do so", because of certain prohibitions concerning teaching and taking the Qur'ān to *dār al-ḥarb*. Although these prohibitions do not explain the above-mentioned phrase, they must be taken into account when the whole argument presented by Yça in the introduction to the *Breviario Sunni* is analysed. This constitutes a two justifications. The first concerns Yça's cooperation with Juan de Segovia in the (Romance) translation of the Qur'ān, while the second concerns the use of Romance in works such as the *Breviario Sunni*.

There are three ways of looking at these justifications. In a *fatwā* transmitted by al-Wanṣharīsī³⁴, an Andalusian *faqīh* forbade a warrior in the Holy War, a *muḍjāhid*, to take the Qur'ān with him to enemy territory (*dār al-ḥarb*), because of the risk that it might fall in the hands of the Unbelievers. This opinion is undoubtedly based upon a Tradition which is to be found in three of the six authoritative *Ḥadīth* collections, Mālik's *Muwatta'* and both *Ṣaḥīḥs*, in which the Prophet expresses the same prohibition³⁵.

³³ Tibawi, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

³⁴ *Mi'yār*, vol. 2, pp. 114-115.

³⁵ Mālik, *Al-muwatta'*, chapter 21 (*Djihad*), *bab* 2, tradition 7, Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, chapter 56 (*Djihad* and *Siyār*), tradition 129 and Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, chapter 33 (*imāra*), *bab* 24, tradition 92.

The second prohibition is to be found in another *fatwā* in which Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Ibn Lubāba forbade a Muslim to teach the Qurʾān to Christian children³⁶. Although it can hardly be said that Yça really violated the first prohibition by travelling to Aiton (Christian Spain was probably no less *dār al-ḥarb* than France), copying, interpreting and explaining the Qurʾān to an unbeliever as such can hardly have been looked upon favourably.

A third problem may have been the hesitation among Muslims resident in Christian territory when invited to take part in polemics³⁷. The nature of this hesitation is not entirely clear to me, but it seems that many of them feared they were too ignorant to participate in such discussions. Others probably feared that they would be tried and convicted for offensive statements. These facts may explain the *lectio difficilior* in N 1 that someone who knew everything (*toda cosa*), instead of something (*alguna cosa*), about the Law should explain the Qurʾān to all creatures in a language they understand. We have seen, however, that Yça's apocalyptic expectations probably induced him to accept the assignment. After he has dealt in the prologue to the *Breviario Sunni* with the Qurʾān he explains why he thereupon undertook the writing of a new work in the vernacular, the *Breviario Sunni*. We have dealt with these justifications (the dangers involved in the loss of wealth and education, and subsequently the Arabic language) above.

VI.3.2. *The Morisco period*

We have seen that el Mancebo de Arévalo refers on several occasions to the duty to teach the faith to others in their own language, an obligation whose origin he attributed now to Mālik and now to God, although he may have had the *Breviario Sunni* in mind both times. We have seen that he preached, and since his works are evidence of a strong homiletic and paraenetic tendency, they may perhaps be seen as a very late echo of the tradition of popular preaching, or *waʿz*. There seems little doubt that he preached in the vernacular. In the *Sumario* he refers to 'our' Castilian language, which implies that he did not perceive Romance as something which was alien to the Muslim minority.

³⁶ Al-Wanṣharīsī, *Miʿyār*, vol. 11, p. 96.

³⁷ Cf. Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, pp. 365-369.

A similar attitude towards the vernacular can still be found in MSS copied or written at the end of the 16th century and beginning of the 17th century. The copyist of T 235 (the translation of the Qur'ān which was completed in 1606) remarks that he copied the work with 'Christian' characters, because he had borrowed the MS and did not have enough time to use the Arabic alphabet. He apologizes only for using the 'Christian alphabet', but not for writing in Spanish, citing a Tradition to the effect that writing in Spanish, being the language that is generally understood, is permitted.

But at the same time, at the beginning of the 17th century, there are several Spanish works in which the use of Spanish is clearly connected with the oppression by the Christian authorities, as the following preface confirms:

God having been pleased to permit that the Moors of this country should be afflicted and oppressed with so many persecutions, allowed in his infinite wisdom that the affairs of our religion should be brought to such extremity, that it is not practised either in public or in private. Prayer is laid aside and forgotten, and the few who still perform it do it secretly, and consequently with fear, and without the necessary devotion: the fast is not observed, or if so, far from the manner in which it ought to be; the accustomed alms abolished; the annual festivals and their tithes sunk in oblivion; the invocation of Allah and his beloved messenger never heard; or, if they invoke them, they do not call them by their proper names in our language. All this is owing, first of all, to the circumstances which have placed the Moors for so many years far from any spiritual advice; and secondly, to the tyranny of the Christians, who have caused them to be all forcibly baptized through fear and terror. Their books are all lost, and scarcely any remembrance remains of them; the doctors of the law are no more, some are dead, others lie in prison; the Inquisition displays against us its utmost fury and oppression, so that few parts of the kingdom are free from fire and faggot; the newly-baptized Moors are everywhere seized and punished with galleys, rack and fire, and other chastisements best known to God, the master of all secrets. These intolerable torments and other calamities we have endured till the present day, for a space of seventy-six years, with greater fury and vigour than at the first beginning. Now, I ask you what knowledge can we have of religion and its dogmas, how can we serve God, if we are continually disturbed and perplexed? and therefore how can it be wondered that some of the holy mysteries of our religion are become strange and inhabitual to us, especially when we consider that we are surrounded by many inveterate and implacable enemies, among which is the world, that, with its temptations and snares, is continually inciting us to forget our supreme welfare, and barring the way to salvation? Some people among us do not know what

prayer is, nor by whom it was instituted; if you ask them when our lord and prophet, Mohammed, was born, they will not answer you; and if you happen to mention in their presence Mecca, that mother of cities and cradle of our religion, they will stare in your face, and shrug up their shoulders. Therefore I, who profess to be a good Mussulman, although the number and depth of my sins God only knows, have undertaken the meritorious task of writing this *Guide to Salvation*, and have composed it in Spanish: may God forgive me for using any other language than that in which the sublime Korán was revealed³⁸.

This is a fragment of the *Guía de la Salvación*, “compuesto por Abdelkarim Juan del Rincón, para uso de sus hermanos los Muslimes”. The author lived in the city of Huesca in the kingdom of Aragon. According to Gayangos, who only cited the English translation, the MS belonged to a private collection in Madrid. It is no longer extant today. From this fragment it appears that the work must have been completed 76 years after the general conversion in 1526, probably in 1602, only a few years before the expulsion of the Moriscos. We can read that the author excuses himself for using Spanish instead of Arabic, and he adduces many reasons to justify this use³⁹. In another work the following statement is found⁴⁰:

Ni uno solo de nuestros correligionarios sabe algarabía en que fué revelado nuestro santo alcorán, ni comprende las verdades del adin ni alcanza su excelencia apurada, como no le sean convenientemente declaradas en una lengua extraña, cual es la de estos perros cristianos, nuestros tiranos y opresores ¡confúndalos Alá! Así, pues séame perdonado por aquel que lee lo que hay escrito en los corazones, y sabe que mi intencion no es otra que abrir á los fieles muslimes el camino de la salvacion, aunque sea por tal vil y despreciable medio.

This source, which probably dates from the end of the 16th century or beginning of the 17th century explicitly qualifies Spanish as the language of the oppressors, and as a vile and despicable medium. From both this text and the work of Abdelkarim Juan del Rincón a picture emerges of an Islam in decay, which is in accordance with the evidence arising from studies on the Moriscos in the northern

³⁸ Gayangos, “Language and Literature”, pp. 79-80.

³⁹ The introduction to Abdelkarim Juan del Rincón’s work was versified by Muhammad Rabadan, see Rabadan’s *Discurso de la luz* (in: JRAS, vol. III (1868), p. 386).

⁴⁰ Saavedra, *Discurso*, pp. 144-5, a citation taken from Ticknor, *Historia*, vol. 4, p. 420. The MS is no longer extant.

parts of Spain, based on the Inquisition records⁴¹. It seems very likely that there is a connection between these derogatory remarks about the Spanish language and the oppression of Islam.

VI.3.3. *The diaspora*

We have seen how the situation of the expelled Moriscos changed after the expulsion from Spain. They had to resume their Islam, and only a very small part of their literary culture is likely to have survived. New religious works in Spanish came into being, and the use of Spanish for religious purposes was valued again.

The most explicit point of view concerning the use of Spanish in a work written in exile is to be found in Madrid B.N. 9653. The author of this work argues that it is a collective duty (*fard kifāya*)⁴² to write instructive works in Spanish for the benefit of the Moriscos in North Africa⁴³. In support of this opinion he quotes the Malikite scholar *Khalīl ibn Ishāq al-Djundī* (d. 767/1365), who allowed someone to say a prayer (*duʿāʾ*) in *ʿadjamī* during the *ṣalāt*, a practice which is qualified by *Khalīl* as merely reprehensible (*makrūh*), thus not even *ḥarām*, if someone is able to pray in Arabic⁴⁴. In passing it can be noted that the same opinion is expressed in an undated anonymous *fatwā*, transmitted by al-Wanṣharīṣī⁴⁵. The question whether it is allowed to say a *duʿāʾ* in the Berber language during the *ṣalāt* is followed by the simple answer: “Yes, as God knows every language best” (*Allāh aʿlam bi-kull lugha*). Here, such a prayer is not even seen as reprehensible. On the basis of this legal opinion and his own observation that Turkish was used in Tunis to explain Arabic texts, the Morisco author of Madrid, B.N. 9653 reaches the conclusion that it is not an innovation (Sp.: *ynovaçión*) to write in Spanish.

⁴¹ Dressendörfer, *Islam unter der Inquisition*, pp. 159-60: “Bei der Sichtung des Materials, speziell natürlich der Inquisitions-Akten, hat man den Eindruck, als hätten die Zwangstausen und der nachfolgende Bekehrungsdruck eine scharfe Trennlinie zwischen einem harten, zahlenmässig nicht fixierbaren Kern nach wie vor gläubiger Muslime und einer unbestimmbaren Masse von Moriscos gezogen, die sich mehr oder minder mit ihrem neuen Status abfanden und denen, um es überspitzt auszudrücken, erst das Austreibungsedikt wieder ihre wirkliche Kondition als Andersgläubige in die Erinnerung zurückrief”; García-Arenal, *Inquisición y Moriscos*, pp. 46-63.

⁴² EI² s.v. *fard* [art. Th. W. Juynboll].

⁴³ Madrid, B.N. 9653, f. 7r-v.

⁴⁴ *Khalīl ibn Ishāq, Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-fiqh*, p. 19, translation Bousquet, vol. 1, p. 55.

⁴⁵ *Miṣyār*, vol. 1, p. 186.

Madrid R.A.H. S 2, also written after the expulsion, tells us that someone asked the Tunisian patron of the Moriscos in Tunis, the aforesaid Abū 'l-Ghayth al-Qaṣhshāsh⁴⁶, what he would think of writing two works in Spanish to instruct Moriscos in their religious obligations⁴⁷. Al-Qaṣhshāsh answered that he would regard this as a very pious deed.

Another work in which the problem of the use of the vernacular is dealt with is a Spanish work called *Cinco Pilares de la Santa Ley*, according to Oliver Asín written in Tunis in 1627. The MS, which seems to have been in the possession of Teófilo Hernández of Madrid in the 1930s, is no longer extant. In it the author also deals with the relationship between Arabic and other languages and characterizes Arabic as “la más excelente de las hablas que Dios nuestro Señor a dado a sus criaturas desde el principio del mundo, y la más suabe y comprehendiossa”⁴⁸.

From the above it follows that no remarks about the religious status of the Romance vernacular can be valued without taking into account the ‘Sitz im Leben’ of a text. Derogatory remarks about the use of Spanish mainly come from the end of the 16th and the early 17th century when Spanish was perceived as the language of the oppressive majority.

⁴⁶ Epalza, “Moriscos y Andalusíes en Túnez durante el siglo XVII”, p. 300.

⁴⁷ Pieri, “L'accueil par des Tunisiens aux Morisques expulsés d'Espagne: un témoignage morisque”, p. 66; also mentioned in: Oliver Asín, “Un Morisco de Túnez”, p. 414.

⁴⁸ Oliver Asín, “Un Morisco de Túnez”, p. 414.

SUMMARY

The central thesis of this study concerns the place in the history of Islamic literature in Spanish and Aljamiado (Spanish in Arabic script) of the Segovian-born Mudejar *muftī*, who up to now in the scholarly literature has been known as ʿĪsā b. *Ḍjābir* (fl. 1450).

The background to the formulation of the problem is briefly set out in the introduction and elucidated in the light of a survey of the history of Islam in the period during which Muslims used Spanish: i.e. between the 11th and the 17th centuries. The history of the 11th century was marked by the disintegration of the Umayyad Empire, the foundation of the small Taifa kingdoms, and the emergence of the first Islamic communities under Christian rule, the Mudejars. There follows a brief review of the most important events in the history of Mudejar Islam up to the fall of Granada (1492). Finally the end of Islam in Spain is described: the forced conversion of Muslims to Christianity between 1499 and 1525, the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain between 1609 and 1614 and their subsequent dispersion throughout the lands around the Mediterranean.

In Chapter I the history of the relevant research is described. The aim is to offer more insight into the reason why with the passage of time ever increasing importance has been attached to the figure of ʿĪsā b. *Ḍjābir*, or preferably (as is explained in Chapter IV) *Yça* *Gidelli*. The most important factors in this have been the discovery by Cabanelas Rodríguez (1952) that *Yça* had made a translation (1455-56) of the Qurʾān into Spanish for the Spanish theologian Juan de Segovia (1393?-1458), and the study by Harvey (1958) which formed a point of departure for López-Morillas (1982), Epalza (1988), and Harvey (1990). On the basis of codicological, historical, and Islamological argument these authors argue that *Yça* exercised a crucial influence on the emergence of Islamic literature in Spanish and Aljamiado. The arguments for this hypothesis devolve upon the following points: according to them, *Yça* is the first Muslim in the history of Islam in Spain of whom it can be said with certainty that he wrote religious treatises in Spanish. Besides this a great deal of importance is attached to the fact that *Yça* translated the Qurʾān into Spanish. This is accorded a certain

innovative significance, because it is assumed that there was resistance to the use of the vernacular for Islamic literary purposes and especially resistance to a translation of the Qur'ān. Furthermore, Yça enjoyed religious authority in view of the fact that the sources describe him as "*faqīh, muftī* of the Mudejars of Segovia", and even as "*muftī* of all Castilian Mudejars". Finally, they draw attention to the influence of his works.

However, alongside this view we find several studies on Islamic Spanish literature in which Yça is not accorded any particular significance. The most important of these find their support in the theories of Menéndez Pidal, and are specially espoused by Galmés de Fuentes. Galmés de Fuentes points to the collective and anonymous character of Islamic Spanish literature and postulates that this vernacular literature was the written result of a long process of oral transmission.

In chapter II I argue that the birth of Islamic literature in Romance is the result of a process the earliest traceable origins of which lie in al-Andalus during the periods of the Taifa rulers, the Almoravides (II.1.) and the Almohads (II.2.). There is a short discussion of the way in which Romance was used in the scientific and profane Arabic literature during this period. This is followed by the question of the religious use of Romance during that time. There is some evidence in this area in the form of two *fatwās* issued by the Maliki scholar Ibn Rushd (d. 520/1126) who was consulted in connection with two persons who had spoken condescendingly about Arabic. One of them claimed that he had recited *sūrat Yūsuf* in a non-Arabic language (Ar.: '*adjami*'), thus very probably Romance. The other person, who it would appear from the *fatwās* was learned in *fiqh*, had said that Arabic was 'unnecessary'. The significance of the recitation of *sūrat Yūsuf* in a non-Arabic language is investigated and elucidated on the basis of the points of view of the various schools of law regarding the recitation of the Qur'ān in a language other than Arabic and also on the basis of a brief survey of the *usūl al-fiqh*. After this comes a more detailed interpretation of the aforementioned *fatwā*. In view of the fact that in both cases there is a question of a rejection of Arabic as literary and religious language, first and foremost both *fatwās* indicate the existence of opinions in al-Andalus that are closely related to the 'linguistic *shu'ūbiyya*', as we know this from the Middle East. Furthermore, from that fact that someone was accused of having

claimed to have recited *sūrat Yūsuf* in *°adjamī*, it can be deduced that this very likely actually occurred: indeed, the accusation would otherwise not seem very credible. Nonetheless, it cannot be ruled out that the text which was recited was not *sūrat Yūsuf* itself, but simply the story of Yūsuf, various early versions of which are known in Old Spanish, including the famous *Poema de Yūsuf*. In II.2. the use of Spanish in the period in which the Almohads controlled the greater part of al-Andalus and in which the Reconquista took place in the south of Castile and Valencia is studied. The Berber language had played an important role in the religious revolution led by the founder of the Almohad movement, *Mahdī* Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/ 1130). In II.2.1. it is attempted to establish more firmly the position adopted by the Andalusian religious scholars with regard to the use of the vernacular in religious texts by making a brief examination of the sources which refer the use of Berber. In both instances it seems that there was no question of any negative attitude to the use of the vernacular in religious writings. Then in II.2.2. it is established that there are a number of Spanish translations of the *Murshida*, a central text of the Almohad doctrine: this creed can be identified without any doubt in a number of Aljamiado manuscripts. This is significant, because the creed had already been translated into Latin in Toledo in the early thirteenth century. It is argued that the *Murshida* (of which there are no surviving Berber versions) had been translated into Romance in the thirteenth century.

Chapter III deals with the way in which the Mudejars used Spanish in written texts before 1455, the year in which Yça's Qur'ān translation was completed. Three categories can be distinguished.

In the first place are the texts which were produced by those Mudejars who were involved in the transference of knowledge from the Arab world to the West in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Despite the fact that it is possible to demonstrate that the Mudejars were to some extent concerned in this process, it is still not certain whether such scholars as the Murcian Ibn Andarās actually did write scientific or literary works in Romance.

The second category consists of texts that functioned in relations with the Christian population, including Spanish legal codes which, although undoubtedly originating in the Mudejar communities, were probably used by Christians to administer law in lawsuits involving

Muslims, and religious or literary texts such as the poem about predestination of Mohamat el-Xartosse, the Guadalajara born doctor of Admiral Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (d. 1407), included in the *Cancionero de Baena*. The third category is formed by the religious texts which circulated within the Mudejar communities. From this material it would seem that Yça Gidelli was not the first to write religious texts in Spanish and, moreover, that before 1454 Mudejars used both Arabic and Latin script to write Spanish.

The life and work of Yça Gidelli form the main part of Chapter IV. The introduction describes why such an important part of our information about Yça originates from Juan de Segovia: after the latter had become convinced of the fact that the only way to convert Muslims was '*per viam pacis et doctrinae*', he decided that to achieve this purpose it would be desirable to possess a literal translation of the Qur'ān both in Latin and in Spanish, and in 1454 his search for a suitable translator brought him into contact with Yça, who the following year at Aiton (in French Savoy), where Juan de Segovia spent the last years of his life, translated the Qur'ān into Spanish. After this short introduction to the source material, in IV.2 the 'Sitz im Leben' of Yça's life and work is described: the Mudejar Islam in Castile and the Mudejar community (*aljama*) of Segovia. From IV.3. to IV.6. Yça's work is described and analyzed. According to Juan de Segovia, even before he translated the Qur'ān, Yça already possessed a certain fame among the Mudejars of Castile, but to what he owed this is unknown. None of the works attributed to him can be proved to be in circulation among the Mudejars in Castile before 1455. However, it does seem that before collaborating with Juan de Segovia Yça had already written several works in Spanish: a creed consisting of 13 articles, of which it must be said that Yça's authorship cannot be stated with any certainty, and a work which is described as "a summary of (the explanation) of all the *sūras*". In a letter which Yça sent to Juan de Segovia on 24 April, 1454, (more than a year before his arrival in Aiton), he deals in some detail with the problems of making a translation of the Qur'ān, and explains that he is contemplating writing "a book of glosses", possibly to comply with Juan de Segovia's wish that the translator would also give some elucidation on the contents of the Qur'ān. The question of whether this book of glosses is perhaps identical to the "summary of all the *sūras*" has to be answered in the negative. Recent

research into the Spanish commentaries which circulated among the Mudejars and the Moriscos show that there was a standard commentary and parts of this can be identified in interlinear paraphrases of Qur'ānic texts, but, as far as we know, there is only one manuscript that contains a complete, literal translation of the Qur'ān with interpolated texts clearly marked off from the translation itself. Since Juan de Segovia described the nature of the translation made for him quite accurately, it was possible to verify whether the above-mentioned MS contains Yça's very text. This does indeed prove to be the case. In his letters Juan de Segovia quotes several fragments from the translation, which do show striking similarities to the corresponding fragments in the above-mentioned manuscript. On the grounds that the interpolated glosses are probably closely connected to "the book of glosses", the "summary of all the *sūras*" was probably another work. Finally, the sources show it most unlikely that Yça's translation had an innovative effect: among Muslims only those texts which could be considered as *tafsīr* were in circulation, and the relationship between them and Yça's translation remains uncertain.

In IV.5. the *Breviario Sunni* is examined. The *Breviario Sunni* is a compendium of Islamic law, in which, despite the fact it was written in Christian Spain, the perspective of *dar al-islām* is upheld, and which is closely related to Maliki *fiqh* works such as the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī. The most interesting parts of the work are the introduction and the last three chapters. The introduction sets forth the reasons for writing the work in Spanish. The last three chapters respectively treat the signs that will portend the end of time, the way in which mankind can obtain the forgiveness of sins (this contains a *du'ā'* in Spanish), and a socio-hierarchical division of the world. The chapter on "the signs that will portend the end of the present age" reveals that Yça believed that the end of time was at hand and that the Day of Judgement was close. This conviction can also be found to a certain extent in other sources such as the letter to Juan de Segovia in which Yça dilates upon his reasons for agreeing to undertake the former's request to make a Spanish translation of the Qur'ān. It appears that in 1454 Yça was acutely aware of the consequences of translating the Qur'ān into Spanish: by so doing the Qur'ān would be made available to non-Muslims. Yça's apocalyptic expectations were probably fuelled by the fall of Constantinople (in some Traditions seen as a sign of the dawn of the end of time) and the difficult position of Muslims in

Castile. It is in this context that the composition of the *Breviario Sunni* should be construed: Yça hoped to stir up a religious revival among the Mudejars by offering them a religious book in the vernacular, providing a prospective on the trials of the Day of Judgement, and of an eternal life in Paradise. Study of the differences between the manuscripts of the *Breviario Sunni* reveals that at a certain point in time radical changes were made in the work. It is demonstrated that in the transmission of the text two traditions can be postulated, the first tradition consisting of Madrid, B.N. 2076 and J 1 the second consisting of R.A.H. S 3, Madrid, B.N. 6016, and J 60. Madrid, B.N. 2076 and J 1 contain the version closest to the original, whereas the other tradition, represented by the other three manuscripts, is based on an adaptation of the text. The nature of the changes is discussed below. In IV.6. data taken from the inventory of the library of the Duchess of Plasencia, compiled in 1468, are discussed. This library contained two of Yça's works, the first being a polemic with a theologian who has to be identified as Juan López de Salamanca (d. 1479) (also known to us as the opponent of Pedro Martínez de Osma in the debate about penance). The second book is a work, not described in any further detail, in which Yça is designated as *muftī* of the Mudejars of Segovia. The inventory provides proof that Yça's works circulated among Christian readers in medieval Castile and it goes without saying that they read his works in Latin script.

These data are not easy to interpret. On the one hand it is possible that Yça deliberately addressed himself to Christian readers. The explanation for this can be found in his apocalyptic forebodings; after all, non-Muslims were also expecting the Day of Judgement and the possibility that Yça also wanted to urge them to convert cannot be overlooked. On the other hand, political motives may also have played a role. The Duke of Plasencia, to whom Juan López was father-confessor, supported Alfonso, the opponent of Enrique IV, in the struggle for the throne which flared up in 1465. One of the aspersions cast at Enrique was his favourable policy towards the Muslims. Perhaps the works of Yça had a hand in this.

The scanty biographical details about Yça are dealt with in IV.7. These show that around 1450 he was in the prime of life, thus it seems probable that he was born about the beginning of the 15th century. He became *faqīh*, who for a time was also *qāḍī* of the *aljama* of Segovia. He was probably a Sufi. In this connection the problem presented by his name becomes interesting. The name

which up to now has usually been used, ʿĪsā b. Ḍjābir, only seems to occur in the adapted manuscripts of the *Breviario Sunni*. In the contemporary sources and in the original version of the *Breviario Sunni* only the name Yça, followed by a *nisba*-derived name, Gidelli, Cidili, Xadel, or Guidilhi is found. It is possible that these forms derive from al-Shādhilī, ‘member of the Shādhiliyya brotherhood’. On the basis of archive documents it has to be assumed that, probably around 1460, there were far reaching changes in the *aljama* of Segovia, which no longer desired to be subject to the jurisdiction of the *alcalde mayor*, the chief-*qāḍī*, who as a royal appointee, functioned as the highest legal authority for the Castilian Mudejars. It seems highly probable that Yça was involved in this problem. However, from the fact that after 1462 he is described as *faqīh* and *imām* of the *aljama*, and *muftī* of all Castilian Mudejars, it has to be assumed that his prestige did not suffer as a result of this. Finally, attention is drawn to the hitherto unnoticed fact that an inscription in the throne hall in the *alcázar* in Segovia mentions Xadel *alcalde*. I argue that this refers to Yça Gidelli, either because as master builder he had been involved in the installation of the ceiling (which is executed in Mudejar style), or because the mention of him serves as a symbol of the good relations between the court and the Mudejars. The date of his death is unknown.

Chapter V examines the influence of Yça’s writings (leaving aside the *tafsīr* and the translation of the Qur’ān which demand a study by themselves). The anonymous *Tratado y Declaración y guía para seguir y mantener el addin del alislam* (V.2.) is a work which shows a strong affinity to the *Breviario Sunni*. On this basis and on historical grounds it can be established with a fair degree of certainty that we are dealing with a work by Yça, which has undergone several revisions in the course of time. One remarkable feature of this work is that the *Murshida* of Ibn Tūmart is identifiable as one of its sources. (The *Tratado* is treated in V.2., and not in Chapter IV because Yça’s authorship has not been conclusively established.) In V.3 the works of a Mudejar/Morisco who is known only by the name el Mancebo de Arévalo (‘the pious man of Arévalo’) are discussed. On the basis of data drawn from the introduction to one of his works, the *Breve Compendio de la santa ley i sunna*, it can be argued that the adaptation of the *Breviario Sunni* was made several years after the forcible conversion of the Moriscos of Aragon (1525). In it the adaptation is described as an

adjustment to new circumstances. To a certain extent the *Breve Compendio* is the result of the collaboration, some eight years after the forcible conversion, between el Mancebo and Baray de Rremindjo, the *faqih* of the *aljama* of Cadrete (a small town in the neighbourhood of Zaragoza). The works of el Mancebo de Arévalo (for two other works by him are extant) reveal nothing about the special relationship between him and Yça, which has been postulated by some. Of the various works written by Yça, el Mancebo, like the other authors who were influenced by Yça, Mohanmad (sic) Devera and Muḥammad Rabadan (discussed in V.4. and V.5.), appear only to have been acquainted with Yça's *Breviario Sunni*. Moreover, Muḥammad Rabadan probably only knew of Yça's work indirectly, namely via the *Breve Compendio* of el Mancebo. Both authors base their works on the adapted version. No influence of Yça's other works can be demonstrated. V.6 is devoted to an investigation of the influence of Yça on Islamic Spanish writings which circulated in Morisco circles after their expulsion: it would appear to be restricted to the writings of Muḥammad Rabadan. It is argued that the absence of influence of Yça can be connected to the deteriorating situation which resulted from the repression of the Moriscos at the end of the 16th century and to the huge changes in conditions after the expulsion.

Chapter VI contains a summary of the role of Yça Gidelli in the history of Islamic Spanish literature, and is based on the dated Spanish-Islamic manuscripts and all manuscripts of those Spanish works of which the author is known, and about which it is established that they were written in Christian Spain. The following topics are discussed: the relationship between the Arabic literary culture and the Spanish literary culture of the Muslims in Christian Spain; the dating and localization of the manuscripts and the changes in the religious status of Spanish within the Islamic community. This produces the following picture: Yça, it is true, was not the first Muslim in Christian Spain to write in Spanish, but is the first author of Spanish religious works whom we know by name. On the basis of the number of manuscripts dated before and after 1455 it seems probable that he did indeed exercise a great deal of influence on the use of Spanish as a written language among the Muslims. Nonetheless, his role in this process was not a unique one: he had antecedents. Furthermore, it seems clear that the authors of Islamic Spanish literature belonged to an intellectual

elite: both writers and copyists were mostly drawn from the echelons of the *fuqahā'*. This shows that the development and history of this literature is linked to a significant degree to the influence and activities of individuals, among whom, as this research demonstrates, Yça was one of the most important.

APPENDIX 1. LIST OF ISLAMIC SPANISH TEXTS FROM SPAIN OF WHICH EITHER THE COPYIST OR THE AUTHOR IS KNOWN

Saa 2. Madrid, B.N. 2076. Latin script. *Breviario Sunni* (= N 1). The 'colophon' reads:

Cumpliose de façer este libro y escreuir que a nombre Breuiario Çuni que considero y cumplio el onrrado y discreto sabidor Hihça Chedic alfaqui y mufti mayor de los moros de castilla y alimen de los honrrados alchamah de los moros de Segouia el qual fizo y colijo en el almachid de la dicha çïudad en el año mill y quatro çientos sesenta dos años [sic], combengalo el soverano a su sancto seruiçio.

Saa 3. Madrid B.N. 6016. Latin script. *Breviario Sunni* and religious stories (= N 2). The MS dates from the end of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century (see Chapter IV.5.1.). The 'colophon' reads:

Cumpliose este libro Brebiario Çunni que copilado por el onrrado sabidor don yce de chebir, mufti alfaqui mayor de los muçilimes de Castilla, alimen de la muy onrrada alchama de Segobia en lalmazchid de la dicha çïudad en el año mil de quatrozientos y sesenta y dos. Conbengalo el soberano en su santa gloria emin rabiylalamina.

Saa 13. Madrid, B.N. Res 245. Arabic script. *Sumario de la rrelación y ejercicio espiritual, sacado y declarado por el Mancebo de Arévalo en nuestra lengua castellana*. No copyist is mentioned. El Mancebo de Arévalo was probably a digger (see Chapter V.3).

Saa 18. Madrid, B.N. 5319. Arabic script. *Al-Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī. Copied according to colophon (in Arabic) on the fourth (?) Friday of [...] corresponding to the middle decade of *Shaʿbān* 834 (= 1431), but the MS itself is of a later date (see Chapter III.5.1). No copyist is mentioned.

Saa 28. Madrid, B.N. 5306 (G.R. 80). Arabic script. Religious miscellanea. Colophon in Arabic. Copied by ʿAlī b. M. b. M. Sollero, min bilād min [?] mādhīyentiyo [?, *nūn* and *tāʾ* without vocalisation], on Wednesday the last day of *djumādā* II, which is 24 March (MS *Mārūs*) 998, corresponding to 1589 (dates in this order!), completed before *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*.

Saa 29. Madrid, B.N. 5378. Arabic script. Religious miscellanea. Completed while of the month [...]. remained [...] days in the year [8]28 (= 1424) (the colophon in Arabic is damaged, see Chapter III.5.1).

Saa 36. Madrid, B.N. 5223 (G.R. 115). Arabic script. Religious miscellanea (includes a translation of Ibn Abbād al-Rundī, *Du‘a’ bi ‘l-asmā’ al-husnā*), copied in “la villa d-Exea” by “Muḥammad Kordilero, hijo de ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Kordilero para Muṣṭafar Waharan, hijo de B‘rahen Waharan ... a si‘ete de la luna de jumād a(l)-ththānī del año de nobeci‘entos i ochenta i çinko del-alhijra del eskojido i bi‘enabenturaço a(l)nnabī Muḥammad, ş‘m, konkordante kon-el bintidoseno de agosto del-año de mil i kini‘entos i set[enta] i si‘ete al konto de ‘Īsā, ‘alayhi i(l)ssalām”, i.e.: 7 *Djumādā* II 985/22 August 1577.

Saa 53. Escorial 1880. Poem in praise of the Prophet, pious stories¹. Dated on f. 46v: bi-kḥaṭṭi yadi Muḥammad Bni Abi l-Anṣārī, imāmin min djamā‘ati l-muslimīn bi Adatu Agrīz. Lā ā (read lā) min dīdjanbar ‘ām z ‘ w min al-hidjra (= 31 December 1568)².

Saa 55. Toledo, B.P. 232. Latin script. Translation of Ibn al-Djallāb al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-tafrī‘ fi ‘l-fiqh*. Colophon in Arabic in Arabic script dated 1607, copied by the same scribe as Toledo, B.P. 235 (Saa 56), copied “kaḏhā bi ‘l-mukḥ-taṣar bihi”, i.e. for the sake of brevity copied in Latin script.

Saa 56. Toledo, B.P. 235. Latin script. Complete translation of the Qur‘ān with glosses, dated 1606. With several bilingual colophons, in which different scripts are used³. The scribe copied the Aljamiado *Vorlage* in Latin script and left out the Arabic text for the sake of time. He was allowed to use the MS, which he had borrowed, for only a few months, and used it as an aid in his study of Arabic.

Saa 61. Paris, B.N., Esp. 251 (Morel Fatio 39). Latin script. *Discurso de la Luz*, written 1603. Author: Muḥammad Rabadan from Rueda de Jalón (Aragon). No colophon.

Saa 64. Paris, B.N. Arabe 1163. Arabic script. Miscellaneous treatise, partly (?) copied by Rodrigo el Rubio from Albeta (Aragon), about 1567 (see Paris,

¹ Published in Kontzi, *AT*, vol. 2, pp. 765-776.

² Apud: Kontzi, *AT*, vol. 2, p. 776.

³ See López-Merillas, “‘Trilingual’ marginal notes”, *passim*.

B.N. Esp. 93 (Morel Fatio 78). This is an Inquisition document, from which it appears that Rodrigo el Rubio was a weaver (*tejedor*).

Saa 68. London, British Museum Harley 7501. Latin script. *Discurso de la Luz*, written in 1603. Author: Muḥammad Rabadan of Rueda de Jalón (Aragon). Without colophon.

Saa 72. Madrid, R.A.H. S 3. Latin script. *Breviario Sunni*. The colophon reads: “Cumpliose esta bribrario çunni que recopilo el honrrado sabidor Yçe de Xebir mufti alfaqui mayor de los muçilimes de castilla alimem de la onrrada alxama@ de Sogobia en el año de mil y quatro çientos y sesenta y dos conbengelo el soberano en su santa gloria emin ye arabil@lamina”.

Saa 80. Madrid, R.A.H. T 6. Arabic script. Religious texts of diverse nature, *du‘ā’s*, *tafstr* etc. According to colophon (?) completed by “Abdarrahmān Lamora” on 23 July 879 (= 1474).

Saa 86. Madrid, R.A.H. T 12. Arabic script. Proceeding from Morés. Religious Miscellanea. No colophons. The MS is a convolute. On f. 58r the first page of an Arabic-Spanish glossary of words from the *Mtẓān al-‘amal* by al-Ḡhazālī is found. The title is *Sharḥ bi-ḥaqq alfāz mtẓān al-‘amal li-Abī Ḥamid al-Ḡhazālī bi-‘l-‘adjamiyya mimmā sharaha[ha] as-sayyid al-faqḥ al-nabīh Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḡhāzī*. This ‘eminent’ *faqḥ* al-Ḡhāzī is almost certainly a Mudejar scholar, not only because the MS can be dated to the beginning of the 16th century, but also because of a letter (published by Hoenerbach, *Urkunden*, no. 43) from Muḥammad al-Qurashī Calavera to his teacher, the *faqḥ* Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Ḡhāzī, dated 15 *Rabī‘* II 900 / 12 January 1495. Al-Ḡhāzī lived in Belchite at the time.

Saa 132. Cambridge Dd 9. 49. *Breve Compendio de la santa ley i sunna*. Arabic script. Alleged authors: el Mancebo de Arévalo and the *faqḥ* of the *aljama* of Cadrete, Baray de Rremindjo, written about 1540 (?), MS copied according to the bilingual colophon in 1608, cf. f. 68v [sic!] “tammāt bi-ḥamdillahi wa ḥusn <a>‘wanihi (Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, a‘wānihi, read ‘awnihi) [wa] bi [‘s]-ṣalāt al-tāmma ‘alā Muḥammad al-karīm wa ālihi. Kunp^elense los t^ratados de los t^res p^rceptos del onrado al-qur’ān kon la lo’or ada Allāh i la buena de su ayuda i la salbaçión sobre nu^est^ro kawḍilloh Muḥammad bi’enabenturado i sobre los suyos, yawm al-ḥamīs [sic] min hilāl al-muḥarrām

[sic] yawm al-awwal sab'a 'aṣḥar abrīl 'ām ṭhamān sittamiya [sic] alf al-masīh, 'alayhi al-salām"⁴. This is 17 April 1608.

J 1. *Breviario Sunni*. Arabic script. The colophon (f. 216v-217r) reads as follows: "kunḥli'ose este libro ke a nonb're bebrari'o ḥunni, ke konnsīdero i kunḥli'o el onrrado i ḡiskreto Ika-Ṣḥādīl, alfaḡī i muftī mayor de los moros de Kastilla, alimem de los onrrados alḥama'a de los moros de Segobi'a i el lo fizo y kolīji'o en la meḡkiḡa de la ḡīcha ḡibdad en ell-año de [m]īl i ku'atro-ḡi'entos i sesenta i ḡos años, konbengalo el soberano a su santo serbiḡi'o, emīn. la ṣala sobre Muḥammad el onrrado".

J 3. Published by Kontzi, *AT*. This MS should be dated in 1586 or later, a date mentioned in the text on f. 222v. The authors of this miscellaneous work seem to be Musa Barbaso (f. 190r)⁵ and Muḥammad Escribano (see also J 6, which was copied by Muḥammad Escribano Mayor). There is no colophon.

J 6. Translation of Abū 'l-Layṭ al-Samarḡandī, *Tanbīḥ al-ḡhāfilīn*. Arabic script. With colophon on f. 377, dated 1601, copied by Muḥammad Escribano Mayor.

J 13. Religious miscellanea. No colophon. On the fly-leaves (parchment) entries by Muḥammad Escribano, with dates between 1581 and 1588 and notes probably with dates between 1572 and 1598, about the family of Migel Escribano Menor (probably the same family, Migel being the 'Christian' name of someone whose Islamic name may have been Muḥammad).

f. 179: *Las coplas del alḡichante de Puey Monḡon*. This is an account of the pilgrimage to Mecca of a Mudejar or Morisco. Pano y Ruata dated the account in ca. 1603. Epalza doubted this dating, assuming that the account of the *ḡadīdj* which the story relates took place before the forcible conversions of 1525⁶. Harvey on the other hand states that Pano's dating is convincing⁷. Montaner Frutos edited the story of al-Miqdād and al-Mayāsa included in this MS, not mentioning the *coplas* referred to above⁸.

⁴ Cf. Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, p. 440, note 6.

⁵ On f. 129v Abdu Musa b. Musa Barbaso. López-Morillas, "Copistas y escribanos moriscos", p. 74, assumes that this person is identical with Musa Barbado (?), the copyist of J 33. López-Morillas also argues on good grounds that this last person was more educated in the study of Arabic than Muḥammad Escribano.

⁶ Epalza, "La lexique religieux des Morisques", p. 56.

⁷ Harvey, "The Moriscos and the hajj", p. 21.

⁸ Montaner Frutos, *El recontamiento de al-Miqdād y al-Mayāsa*. See for a codicological analysis of the MS pp. 17-8.

J 14. *Kitāb manzūm ad-durar ft sharḥ kitāb al-mukhtaṣar*. Commentary in Arabic on the *mukhtaṣar* of al-Ṭulayṭulī by Ibn al-Fakhkhār al-Djudhāmī with partial interlinear translation (see Cervera Fras, *La plegaria musulmana en el “compendio de al-Ṭulayṭulī”*). Probably no colophon but copied by “Iça, fijo de Aḥmad y de A’iṣha (=Iça Escribano?)”.

J 20. Miscellaneous work in Arabic and Aljamiado.

1 *Khuṭbas* in Arabic.

2 Deals with the *ṣalāt*, in Arabic with Aljamiado glosses(?)

3 *Kitāb al-anwār as-saniyya fi alfāz al-sunniyya*, by Abū ’l-Qāsim M. b. A. al-Kalbī (d. 741/1340)⁹. No. 3 was copied by Abū Uṭhmān Sa’d b. ‘Alī al-Ahandī, according to the colophon in 88 (probably 888/1483).

J 30. *El alkiteb de rogar por agua*, includes *du‘ā’s*, *khuṭbas*, names of God. According to Alarcón the MS is dated 1597 on the last folio.

J 33. *El kiteb de la tafria* by Ibn al-Djallāb al-Baṣrī. Colophon in Arabic. Dated Monday 8 March, corresponding to 27 *Rabī’ al-awwal* 993 *hiǧra*, i.e. 1585. Copied by Iça Escribano. According to González the colophon is repeated on the same page, only this time mentioning Mūsā Barbado as the copyist.

J 52. Several fragments of codices. No. 3 is probably part of a work by el Mancebo de Arévalo, in view of the following remark: “Estando en Abila la Real una conpañia de sabios onrrados ... se presento una mora”. This “mora” is perhaps the Mora de Ubeda, who plays an important role in the works of el Mancebo¹⁰. Dated ‘98’, according to González this should be read as 1598.

J 60. *Breviario Sunni* and religious miscellanea. Latin script. ‘Colophon’ dated Segovia 1462, which reads: “Cumplöse de haçer y escrebir este libro que a por nombre brebario cubbi que considero y acopiilo [sic] el onrrado y discreto sabidor don Hiçe de Xebir alfaqui y muffti mayor de los muçilimes de la noble çiuudad de Sogobia el qual fiço y colegio en el almazgid de la dicha çiuudad en el año de mil y quatro çientos y sesenta y dos años. Conbengalo el soberano a su santo serbiçion en endereçamiento de gloria emin ya Allah”. This is, as we have seen above, a later copy.

⁹ GAL II, 264.

¹⁰ See Harvey, *Lit. Cult.*, p. 397 ff.

J 62. El Mancebo de Arévalo, *Tafsira*. MS of the end of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century (see above, Chapter V.3).

The following MSS from Almonacid are being preserved in Zaragoza in the Biblioteca del Colegio de Padres Escolapios. They are described in the catalogue by Ribera and Asín:

A. Paraenetica. On f. 391 entry on the birth of Luis Escribano in 1551 (Yo, Luis Escribano). On f. 227 a colophon from which it appears that the scribe was Muḥammad Escribano.

B. Paraenetica. On f. 370 we read “Monestaçion sacada por ʿAbd Musa ibn Barbado” (cf. J 3, where his name is spelled Ibn Musa Barbasu). No dates.

C. An anonymous commentary in Aljamiado on the *Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī. With a colophon. Copied (?) by Iça Escribano in 901/1495 (sic!, cf. J 33, which was copied in 1553 by the same copyist).

D. Several paraenetical works, including a partial translation of al-*Ghazālī*, *Al-bidāya wa 'l-hidāya*, according to the description copied by Iça Escribano or another member of this family.

Paris, B.N. Esp. 397. Latin script. Religious treatise, which was written and copied by Mohanmad Devera from Exea de Albarrazín, with a heavily damaged colophon in Spanish, dated 16[..].

Escorial 1668. MS in Arabic and Aljamiado. Religious miscellanea. Dated August 928/1522¹¹.

Abdelkarim Juan del Rincón, *Gula de la Salvación*, which can be dated in 1602 or 1603. This text is only known through Gayangos article, “Language and Literature”. The author lived in the city of Huesca in Aragon¹².

¹¹ See Epalza, “Un manuscrito narrativo normativo árabe y aljamiado, passim.

¹² MSS with a colophon which were written outside Spain: (1) Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.IV-701(1). Commentary on several sūras. The colophon reads: “Kunplense kon la loor de Allah i la salbaçion sobre nuestro annabi Muhammad, sʿm, por la mano del sierbo de Allah i mas pekador Muhammad Rabadān Aragones, natural de la billah de Rueda de Xalona kinze de rajab año de mil y beinti uno de la hijra” (written below the colophon: Salonik). 15 *Radjab* 1021 corresponds to 11 September 1612; (2) Oxford, Wadham College A 10.10. Translation by or for Muhammad el Barçhi (the evidence is contradictory) of an *ʿaqida* by al-Sanūsī completed in Algiers. Colophon on f. 125 r. “Acabose Descrevir este tratado en la ciudad De Arxel Dia de Jueves A siete Dias De la luna de Çafar la Sigunda Del

Ano mil y treynta del alhijera de nuestro Nabi Muhamad Çala Alla hu Aleyhim guasalam concuerda con //f. 126r// El mes de deziembre a las treynta y un Dias Del Del [sic] naçimiento de Caydina [sic] Yza del año Mil seis çientos y veynte. Recibalo el soberano en su santo servicio como puede. Amin yrabi yl Ala mina”; (3) Paris B.N. Ar 447. *Sāras* with interlinear *tafsīr*. f. 117r: “Fue escrito el presente alquiteb por my Ybrahim Isquierdo pobre de Allah habitando en la ciudad de Saloniq a 17 dias de la luna de xaguel de 976 años del alhigera del anavy ...”. This corresponds to 4 April 1569.

APPENDIX 2. LATIN TRANSLATION OF A LETTER (PROBABLY IN SPANISH) BY YÇA GIDELLI TO JUAN DE SEGOVIA, DATED SEGOVIA 24 APRIL 1454 (Vat. Lat. 2923, f. 178v -180r¹)

Reverendissimo presidenti in perfectione domino Johanni de Segobia archiepiscopo Cesariensi.

Amantissime administer excellens Cathedralis desiderator vere perfectionis eterni principatus cum nomine q² suo in quo omnis res quiescit et facit finem.

Is qui cum magno desiderio amat vobis servire peremptoria angelica causa et videre maiestatem vestram et aperire eidem suum proprium secretum cor alphaquinus Yca Gidelli in civitate Segobiensi interpretres et elocutor sancti Alchoran recommendans se in vestra vera gratia cum effectu ponendi in opere vestrum desiderium et omnia que ad vestram honoratam perfectionem pertineant et cetera.

Sciatis quod vester alumpnus fecit me intelligere vestrum bonum desiderium sciendi et fundandi omnia et specialiter unum Alchoranum interpretatum in Romancio de pe a pa (in vulgari hispanico est tantum dicere sicut de verbo ad verbum)³ sine accidente ullo et si possibile foret post conversum in Romanicum habere gratiam sciendi a suo Romanciatore intenciones et declaraciones cualibet⁴ textuum eius etcetera.

Quibus propositis et cuilibet eorum ego respondi sicut ille qui desiderat complacere vestre nobili persone videndo esse opus unum ex septem que⁵ angelicalia appellantur. Et licet ego petivi ab eo finaliter postremum pretium viginti duplas pro solo labore meo lingue mee et dispositione sine requisitis ad opus illud et sine salario scriptoris, quomodo sit verum, o domine, quod, illo opere perfecto, sicut legaliter et fideliter requirunt vocabula eius, computato tempore spatii ad hoc faciendum, non poterat computari plus quam pro termino unius fossoris? Sed ego respiciendo petitionem que talis est et a quo est facta et id quod ab eo⁶ descendit cui cor meum apertum est et sua dispositio equivocalis, licet sit tam excellens administratio sua //f. 179r// in preterito,

¹ Earlier published in Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Juan de Segovia*, appendix 2, pp. 273-77.

² It remains unclear how this q should be interpreted.

³ The phrase "in... verbum" is preceded by *va-* and followed by *-cat*, probably indicating that the words thus enclosed did not have an equivalent in the underlying Spanish (?) text. In the left hand margin the words "de pe a pa" are once again interpreted as follows: "in vulgari hispanico est tantum dicere sicut de verbo ad verbum".

⁴ MS quialibet.

⁵ = quae, MS quo.

⁶ MS ea.

omni veritate perfecta rerum que esse debebant et esse debent usque ad finem et postrematatem. Itaque est tantum infinitum, quod non dubito, esse miraculum, habitam esse ex eo perfectionem ultimam sanam, non necessario, ratione viva. Esset collocatus pro necessario et proprio in mundo gentibus Remotor dubiorum, cum vera perfectione absoluta que semper monstrat unum eternum operatorem cum potencia et sapiencia, sine diversitate. Non quod habitet unum sine alio neque quod incepisset nec fecisset unum sine alio tantum sicut unus verus finis integer super quo meum cor et omnium qui aliquid discernunt debent effundere lacrimas sanguinis. Ob confusionem nostra iudicia esse tam defectuosa quod propter habere unum casum negocii temporalis alteratur ingenium intellectus. Dico desiderium meum confitendo meum peccatum mei ipsius quod mea occupacio magna non permittit permanere ipsum pauper iudicium quod habeo solitarium neque securum in uno loco pro causa administrationis et illuminationis studii anime mee et eorum quorum onus habeo. Propter quod habeo et sum in casu essendi transcordatum. Et novum in meis rationibus vos emendate, quod verum bonum sit unus finis in quo bonum et finis sit una res sola. Itaque finis boni in malo non sit †finis ex quo est in malo. Sic quod malum quod finis eius sit bonum sicut gloria est finis bonum quod totum bonum quod sit finis eius malum infernale sit malum et non bonum† ita quod bonum et finis sit una sola res. Propter quod debemus laborare et habere in magna gratia cum sola manutenentia disponendi et practicandi in modo quod vos habeatis cum quiete et repauso quod verum repausum est in eo in quo omnia quiescunt postrema re fine bono per veram cognitionem compositionis mundi, ipsum esse gubernatum in duobus axibus quatuor dispositionum †desperatarum† nobis monstratarum que faciunt //f. 179v// accidentalialia opera. Probant gubernaciones fore imperfectas etcetera.

Quantum ad secundam petitionem ex qua requiruntur due res: prima mutacio cum effectu quod vadam morari et istud est tam grave mee parve et pauperi persone, non isto obstante quod fiat de me indigencia multa, sed ubi alter hic non habeatur: ego sum ministralis. Et tantum bonum vestri amores vestrorum virtuosissimorum rumorum timeo quod frangerent omnes suas ligaturas et carceres ferreos vestre subtiles lime et virtuosa opera simul cum magna obligacione vestri alumpni quantum ad vobis servire et complacere.

Secunda res esset ad dandum absolucionem infinite Scripture et sue perfectioni Alchoram. Estimo quod esset possibile fieri scriptura⁷ in glosis materialibus, non posset rimari⁸, nec esset qui id supportaret salva pro sua eternacione equivocali, de quo⁹ communiter a regibus fundatum¹⁰ cum altis et

⁷ Sic MS, i.e. scripturam.

⁸ MS omicari (?).

⁹ Sic MS, to be taken as 'qua'.

magnis magistris ad intelligendum suam artem arabici ydeomatis et causas quomodo originem habuerunt sui versus, super quo fuit missus. De quibus omnibus et quolibet eorum habendo verum repausum ego me aperirem ad dicendum vobis quantum in me est cum illo vero amore quem de vobis suscepi pro vestris nobilibus et excellentibus virtutibus domini generosi. Quod sic esse monstratur propter petitionem quamvis sit verum, domine, quod ille <qui> istam scripturam perfectam posuit super linguam illius religiosi prophete Mahumeti tempore quo renegati tenebant Domum Sanctam plenam ydolis, cum magno misterio mittendo eum ad avisandum, quemadmodum fuisset a Deo bene providere illis gentibus ydolatriis cum cognitione Dei et bono prophete Mahumeti facere illam administrationem veram. Nunquam amplius cessant unum bonum verum cum alio vero bono semper essendo: //f. 180r// unam veritatem et bonum unum. Et bonum et veritas totum est sola una res oportuit esse: unum bonum solum ministralem perfectum necessarium. Nunquam subtraxit se de amovendo gentes de duobus inimice illis qui nobis ponunt, sicut dominacio vestra melius scit, invidiam cupiditatem gulam luxuriam malitiam, de isto inimica; a quo Deus non defendat et humana voluntas, quam, confiteor vobis, quod aliquo tempore tenuit me incarcerationum et captivum; sed quando Deus voluit illuminare me aperire suam sanctam scripturam ad intelligendum eam, et reperi in ea secreta que ob defectum in multis locis sunt et existunt cooperta. Ex quo reperi intellectum parve fiducie quam omnis sensatus debet habere in temporalibus bonis videndo quam cito sunt ceca et quod non dant bonum perfectum. Et tum propter istud et tum sicut dixi propter vestras nobiles virtutes quas audivimus sum obligatus ad faciendum quantum de me ordinaveritis. Et propterea, quod de eo sicut certus, mitto vobis istam cedulam firmatam meo nomine cum fiducia et desiderio vestre responsionis cita habende quanto possibile possit esse ut ego non paciar de meo spiritu cum isto desiderio. Scriptum festinanter de nocte ad lumen candeles. A Deo sicut illuminato. Ex Segovia XXIII aprilis anno LIII^o. Promptissimus ad honorem vestrum.

Translation

To the very reverend guide in perfection, John of Segovia, archbishop of Caesarea.

Most beloved and excellent occupant of the bishop's throne, seeker of the true perfection of the eternal kingdom. In the name of Him, in whom everything finds repose and completion.

From him who, with great desire, wishes to assist you in a decisive, angelic

¹⁰ sc. est.

cause, to meet your honour and to open to you his hidden inner self, the *faqih* Yca Gidelli, interpreter and teacher of the art of recitation of the Holy Qur'an in the city of Segovia, who commends himself to your favour, hoping to accomplish your wish in a piece of work and in everything that leads to your honoured perfection, etc.

You must know that your pupil conveyed to me your pious wish to know and found everything on a solid basis, and one thing above all, namely the Qur'an interpreted in Romance *de pe a pa* (which in the Spanish vernacular amounts to saying "word for word") without any addition whatsoever, and, if possible, after the translation into Romance, to have the benefit of learning from the translator into Romance the meanings and explanations of its texts, etc.

To these propositions [in general], and to each of them in particular I have answered as somebody who wishes to oblige your noble person, since the task is one of the seven called angelic. And although I have eventually sought as my lowest price 20 *doblas* exclusively for my work, my capability of translating and my attendance, without the necessary expenses and without the remuneration of the copyist, how then could it be, my lord, that, after this task is being completed truly and faithfully as the words demand, after calculating the length of time to do this, it should not work out to be more than it would cost to engage a gravedigger? Considering, however, the nature of the request, namely both by whom it was made, and also that it came from Him for whom my heart is open and before whom it is equally ready and although His administration was so outstanding // f. 179r // in the past, since the entire reality of the things that had been and have to be until the end and the last extreme was perfect, I therefore... It is so infinite, that I do not doubt that it is a miracle, and that from it the final complete perfection came about, not by necessity, but by a living policy: A Remover of uncertainties, with the true absolute perfection which shows one eternal Operator with might and wisdom, without change, may have been placed in the world, for the benefit of mankind on behalf of the necessary and the inevitable. Not that there is one without the other, nor that He has begun one thing without the other, or completed [it], as the one true goal is one whole, over which my heart and that of those who have some discretion must shed tears of blood. Confusion makes our judgements so poor, since the nature of our understanding changes through having one case of a temporary affair at hand. I tell you my desire in the awareness of my own fallibility, because my important function does not allow this poor judgement of mine to remain without effect, untested and isolated. I want this in order to serve [God's] administration and the enlightenment of my soul to be attained by study and [of the soul] of those for whom I have a responsibility. Because of what I am I have changed my opinion. And you should emend

the new [elements] in my explanations, for the true good is one highest good in which the good and the highest are one. Therefore the highest good is not in the bad †...†, so that the good and the highest are one and the same thing. For this reason we are obliged to work and be grateful with nothing but the tenacity to do and to act in such a way as you also know, in that peace and quiet which is the true quiet of Him in whom all things rest: the final affair, the highest good, [supported by] the true knowledge of the composition of the world, namely that it is controlled by two poles of four †...† dispositions, which have been shown to us and which //f. 179v// bring about the accidental things. They show that governments would be imperfect, etc.

With respect to your second petition, two things are required: in the first place the change of residence with the consequence that I will come to stay [with you]. This is not a drawback because it occurs in my great need, but because there is nobody here to replace me, for I have an office. And your love for your virtuous reputation is such a great good [that] I am afraid that your delicate files and good work will sever all their ties and iron shackles. Moreover, I feel obliged towards your pupil as well, in order to serve and please you better.

The second thing would be to extend perfection to the infinite Scripture and its perfection of the Qur'ān. I believe that it is possible to make a book containing glosses belonging to the subject matter, yet it would not be possible to interpret it -and no one would permit that either- save in accordance with its eternal and constant meaning, with respect to which kings jointly laid the foundation, together with high and important teachers, for the sake of understanding the grammar of the Arabic language and the reasons for which its verses received their origin, [and] why it [viz. the Qur'ān] was sent [down]. And if I had true peace, then I would tell you as frankly as I can about all these things, with the true love I have conceived for you in accordance with the noble and outstanding virtues of a generous lord. And that this is so appears from your request [viz. for a translation of the Qur'ān], although it is true, lord, that He put the Scripture in a perfect way in the mouth of that great, deeply pious prophet Muḥammad at the time when the heretics had the Sacred House full of idols, whilst He sent him [viz. Muḥammad] to warn them in a mysterious manner. He was thus enabled by God to provide the idolaters with knowledge of God and with the good of the prophet Muḥammad He implemented that true guidance. Never will [the Muslims] abandon the one good truth with the other true good, which is eternal: //f. 180r// one truth and one good. And the good and the truth had to be one single thing: the sole, unique, perfect and necessary good, which serves mankind. He [viz. Muḥammad] never withdrew from keeping people off those who, as your highness knows best, seduce us in a way hostile to the aforesaid two things, to envy,

desire, voracity, luxury and malice, which were hostile to him. And neither God nor the human will is able to protect someone against this evil, and I have to confess that it [viz. the human will] kept me chained and captured in former times, but when it pleased God to enlighten me so that I would understand His Sacred Scripture I found in it the secrets which exist in many places owing to our deficiency but remain covered up. From that I have learned that every sensible human being ought to have little confidence in earthly goods, since he sees how quickly they decay and do not provide the perfect good. And for that reason, and also, as I have said before, because of your noble virtues which I have heard of, I am obliged to do everything you have ordered me. And therefore, since I am, as it were, determined in this matter, I am sending you this letter, corroborated by my name, in the faith and the hope of your swift answer, if that be possible, so that I do not need to torment my soul with that wish. Written at night, by candlelight, enlightened, as it were, by God. From Segovia, 24 April 1454. Very much willing to serve your honour.

APPENDIX 3. *BREVIARIO SUNNI*, PROLOGUE

//N 1 f. IIr, J 1 f. 1v// {Basmala in Arabic} Suma¹ de los principales mandamientos y vedamientos² de la³ ley y açuna⁴.

<Prologo de la obra> .

En el nombre de {Allah} vn solo criador sin comienzo nin medio ni fin que crio el mundo de nada y por la su alta⁵ probidencia e//J 1 f.2r//mbio xsus profetas de *gracia⁶* en fin de los quales embio <el> su escogido {i} bien aventurado profeta⁷ Muhamad, {s^cm}, al *fin⁸* que fuimos⁹ criados.

Dixo el honrrado savior mofti y alfaqui del aljama de los moros¹⁰ de la noble y leal çidad de Segouia, {ke se llama} <don> *Yça Jedih¹¹*: <y> compendiosas¹² causas me mouieron a ynterpretar la divinal graçia del Alcoran *del aravigo al romançe*¹³ sobre que algunos cardenales me escriuieron¹⁴ que lo¹⁵ teniamos <encogido y> escondido, como <cosa> no osada plaçar¹⁶. *Porque no sin grande causa desampare mi naçion para las partes de lebante, compliendo¹⁷* aquella auctoridad que {nos manda y dize que¹⁸} toda criatura que toda¹⁹ cosa supiere de la ley lo deue mostrar²⁰ a

¹ Este es un memori'al.

² debedami'entos.

³ J 1 nu'est'ra santa.

⁴ J 1 çunna: For the note to açuna in the left hand margin in N 1, see above, Chapter IV.5.1.

⁵ santa.

⁶ de g'rado en g'rado depu'es de g'rado.

⁷ a(l)nnabi.

⁸ bi'en de lo ke.

⁹ fu'eron.

¹⁰ muçlimes.

¹¹ 'İçā de Jebir.

¹² konbenditas.

¹³ de garabi'a en 'adjamiyya.

¹⁴ disi'eron.

¹⁵ le.

¹⁶ pareçer.

¹⁷ ke no sin mucha okasi'on me puse a sakarlo de lengu'a //J 1 f.2v// kastellana akopilando. The phrase "desampare mi naçion para las partes de lebante" in N 1 is not to be found in any of the other MSS.

¹⁸ In N 2, not in J 1.

¹⁹ This a is a *lectio difficilior*, the other MSS all read "alguna".

²⁰ demostr'ar.

todas las criaturas del mundo en lenguaje²¹ que lo entiendan, si es posible. Y por quitar²² las ynfamias *dello en contrario²³* puestas, plugo²⁴ a la ynmensa piadad dar{me} graçia, como con su ayuda, *tiniendo el atasçir delante, fuese romançado²⁵ <para los que del aravigo> fuesen alongados²⁶ {a} suyos y {a} estraños, y por mayor declaraçion fiçe²⁷ vn traslado de los <sus> artículos²⁸ {ke ay en el} y otra suma de las <sus> sentençias y fines , so²⁹ cuya governaçion tan grandissi//f. Iiv//mos³⁰ prinçipes e ynumerables {se//J 1 f. 3r//ñores y} gentios biben en libertad <y franqueza> en las tierras de promisión y *casas sanctas³¹ donde <se lee y> mantiene con ella verdad y justiçia. Y porque los *moros de Castilla³²* con gran sujeçion y muchos³³ tributos y grandes fatigas {y t*rabachos} an descaeçido³⁴ de sus riquezas y {an} perdido las escuelas y el arabigo³⁵, y sobre su caresçimiento³⁶ {muy muchos} amigos míos de mi trabaron³⁷ <muy mucho affectuosamente³⁸>, espeçialmente {me rogaron} los onrrados <re>partidores, los quales con *tan grande³⁹* clemençia me rrogaron que en rromance yo⁴⁰ quisiese copilar⁴¹ *vna tan breue escriptura de nuestra⁴² ley y açuna de <todo> aquello que todo buen moro⁴³ deuia saver y vsar sobre //J 1 f. 3v// que yo no me pude escusar de satisfacer⁴⁴ su ruego⁴⁵ y

²¹ langu^a.

²² ibitar.

²³ Viz. of the Qur'ān. MS delo.; J 1 de lo contrario.

²⁴ In the other MSS there is a change here from the past tense to the present tense. J 1: p^{le}ge; N 2: ...gue; J 60: plegue.

²⁵ tubi^{endo} el-alqur'ān delante lo sake (MS los ke) de garabī. The word *atasçir* is derived from Ar. *tafsīr*: Qur'anic exegesis. This word is not to be found in the other MSS.

²⁶ inorantes.

²⁷ fare.

²⁸ artikules.

²⁹ chus.

³⁰ g^randes.

³¹ kasa santa.

³² muçlimes despaña.

³³ g^randes.

³⁴ akaeçido.

³⁵ garabī.

³⁶ k^rreçimi^{ento}.

³⁷ t^robaron.

³⁸ MS effectuosamente.

³⁹ tanta.

⁴⁰ lo.

⁴¹ akopilar.

⁴² anu-ta-señalada let^ra de nu^esa.

⁴³ muçlim.

⁴⁴ hazer.

⁴⁵ rrogar^a.

confiando⁴⁶ en el bien soberano que es ayuda a⁴⁷ los buenos <deseos> supiendo⁴⁸ el fallecimiento que los virtuosos *propositos trae a diversos⁴⁹* fines sobre que me esfuerze y pense dirigir para los biuientos⁵⁰ y suçesores⁵¹ su breue compendio⁵². Una tal copilaçión trayendo a la memoria <a⁵³> los artículos⁵⁴ y razones prinçipales dellos y prinçipales mandamientos no olvidando la breue fin de este presente siglo declarando por capítulos⁵⁵ como se deben y {komo se} an de cumplir <los ornamentos> de nuestra⁵⁶ ley y açuna quanto⁵⁷ <vaste> la neçesidad, <porque la prolidad> no se <a> escusa a los oyentes ni hecho fastidio⁵⁸ // J 1 f. 4r// a las tres potençias del anima, porque las grandes escripturas perteneçen *a aquellos⁵⁹ que *tienen sus mantenimientos seguros y aquesto⁶⁰ çesa en los *moros de Castilla⁶¹. Y porque mas breue *sea acorde⁶²* de nombrar aqui en este prologo los libros de donde sera gobernado, porque çese *de lo acarear⁶³* en cada lugar en los quales <o> en alguna{a J1 o}s *dellos los⁶⁴ nobles <savidores> fallaran{n}⁶⁵ auctoridades de lo que en este <libro> dira⁶⁶, y son los siguientes...⁶⁷ que⁶⁸ son treçe numeros de libros de nuestra {santa} ley y açuna <de> los quales colegi y acopile sesenta capitulos en los quales re//f. IIIr//sumi⁶⁹ la fe y obra⁷⁰ que hombre o muger deue tener y⁷¹ fazer⁷² siguien-

⁴⁶ akonfi'ando.

⁴⁷ de.

⁴⁸ konp'li'endo.

⁴⁹ p'roposos t'ra-en dibinos.

⁵⁰ benidores.

⁵¹ subzesores.

⁵² konp'rendido.

⁵³ MS los a.

⁵⁴ artikules.

⁵⁵ kapítulos.

⁵⁶ nu'esa.

⁵⁷ ku'ando.

⁵⁸ fasti'o.

⁵⁹ adakellos.

⁶⁰ sus per'sonas ti'enen seguras, lo ke.

⁶¹ muçlimes despaña.

⁶² se akorte.

⁶³ dellakarrear.

⁶⁴ de los.

⁶⁵ hallaran. An indication that the orthography in J 1 is more drastically modernized than in N 1.

⁶⁶ dire.

⁶⁷ White space of ca 25 letters in N 1. No space in J 1. Might this be an indication that the *Vorlage* of N 1 included the thirteen works?

⁶⁸ i.

⁶⁹ rresumi'o.

⁷⁰ obras.

⁷¹ MS: o, J 1: i.

do aquello // J1 f. 4v// que el bien aventurado profeta Muhamad fue rebelado a la qual escritura considere que oviese nombre Breuiario⁷³ çuni donde señale mi nombre, porque do⁷⁴ yo ignorare⁷⁵ me sea atribuido so ymienda <de los maestros> de nuestra⁷⁶ sancta ley y açuna a los quales ruego que mi escritura corrijan, guardando las condiçiones⁷⁷ de breue *compendio doquiera que fallaren fambre o sed o otro defalleçimiento por ellos sea governado quando sea neçesario*⁷⁸. Y a nuestro⁷⁹ señor ruego que me de graçia y días en⁸⁰ que lo acabe con las otras {bu*enas} obras a su sancto seruicio lo faga⁸¹ en {en}dereçamiento de gloria perdurable. < Amen. >

⁷² fazer.

⁷³ bebararyo.

⁷⁴ lo ke.

⁷⁵ inorase.

⁷⁶ nu*esa.

⁷⁷ kubdiçiones.

⁷⁸ korrichiçendo i imendando lo ke por mi sera defalleçido.

⁷⁹ nu*eso.

⁸⁰ para.

⁸¹ haga.

APPENDIX 4. *BREVIARIO SUNNI*, CHAPTER 58. ON THE SIGNS OF THE END OF THE PRESENT AGE

N 1 f. 63v, J 1, f. 202v// Capítulo 58¹ de las señales de este presente siglo. <Señales> de la breue fin de este mundo son que *las profecías²* {cun- p'li'yeron en[.³]} <d>el bienaventurado anabi Muhamad, {ṣ̌m}, se cum- plieron en esta postrimera edad en que somos⁴ (suya⁵), que es la setima suya que se contaron. Y son situadas siete edades en testimonio de siete alayas⁶ y siete días. La primera desde⁷ Adan⁸ fasta Noe⁹, //J 1 f. 203r// la segunda desde¹⁰ Noe¹¹ fasta Abrahan¹², la terçera desde Abrahan¹³ fa{sta} Çuley- men¹⁴, *que {ke} edificó la casa santa¹⁵*, la quarta fasta que la destrozó¹⁶ Nabucdonosor¹⁷, la quinta fasta que vino Hiçe¹⁸, fijo de Mariam, la sesta fasta que vino el bienaventurado Muhamad, la septima y postrimera ésta en que estamos en que se an de convertir todos en aquesta ley y será toda la tierra *so vn adoramiento¹⁹* desta fe <en> que será la fin deste presente siglo, que ya somos en el tiempo de la ypoquesia²⁰, e//J 1 f. 203v//n que combiene²¹ demostrarse la //N 1 f. 64r// gente por buenos y ser malos con

¹ In N 1 and J 1 this is chapter 59 (J 1 çinku*enta i nu*ebe), but both J 1 and N 1 contain 62 chapters in spite of the fact that the introduction states that the work contains 60 chapters, in other words the order of this version was changed.

² MS las profetas, J 1 los profetas.

³ One unreadable letter in J 1 because of a spot of ink. Perhaps we should read 'en' (second 'en' would then be a correction).

⁴ estamos.

⁵ Sic MS; J 1 reads su'a as well.

⁶ J 1 ale'es, scil. dyas, verses of the Qur'ân.

⁷ dende.

⁸ Edam.

⁹ Nüh.

¹⁰ dende.

¹¹ Nüh.

¹² Ibrāhīm.

¹³ Ibrāhīm.

¹⁴ MS culeymen.

¹⁵ Not in *edition*. The "casa santa" is the temple in Jerusalem.

¹⁶ est'rosó.

¹⁷ J 1 Den[.]bukodonosor; i.e. Nebucadnezzar, the king who destroyed the temple in Jerusalem in 587/6 B.C.

¹⁸ 'Īçā.

¹⁹ sobre un-adoratori'o.

²⁰ MS yproquesia; J 1 pokresia.

²¹ J 1 kot'ene; all other MSS: contiene.

multiplicación²² {de maliçias²³} y engaños y mentiras sin temor ni verguenza de Dios²⁴ <n>i de la justiçia, que comunmente biue cada uno como quiere, multiplicando²⁵ los forniçios público<s>, faboresçiendo a los malos y mentirosos y contra ley a{d} altas voces en la<s> mezquida<s> y en ayuntamiento<s>, menospreçiando a la ley y a los savidores della y escuchando <a> los juiçios con pocos açalas²⁶ y menos azaques²⁷, desmin-tiendo //J 1 f. 204r// al bueno y aprobando al malo, siguiendo los <consejos e> ynteres{es} de las mugeres y de los moçuelos, no obedesçiendo a los mayores <ni apiadando a los menores> con duros corazones, siguiendo glorias vanas y pompas y grandias, y esforçándose en las riquezas <y> edificando casas²⁸ y fortalezas y grandes demasias, no guardando justiçia, aumentando²⁹ soberuia y yra y saña sin ningun temor, desordenada [da in J1] y comunmente por todas partes. Son señales y testimonio de postrimera edad y b//J 1 f. 204v//reue fin de este corrompido mundo. Por mayor testimonio contra los yncredulos y pecadores y por grande milagro³⁰ el sol saldrá³¹ <en> donde se pone en breue tiempo de esta edad en que estamos y de aquella³² tan grande señal en adelante no será reçeuida repençia de ninguna criatura en fin de lo qual saldrá³³ el bestigolo³⁴ vestial que la gente hablará del fin de el río de tohama³⁵, manifesto será el adagel³⁶, <tuerto de el su derecho oso³⁷, façiendo milagro>, a quien los ysraelitas se allegarán y otros malos gentios y aberiguará defunctos y sanará lisiados, y llamarse a Dios. //J 1 f. 205r// No lo reçebirán los creyentes, ni avrá poder de entrar en Meca ni en{ta }<e>l almedina nin en Baytul Mactiz³⁸, que son las tierras y comarcas donde se çimentó y sostubo y sostiene la creençia. Y desçenderá Hizan³⁹ fijo de Mariam por mandado del señor y matarlo ha, y

²² muntip'likaçión.

²³ In J 1, J 60, and *edition*.

²⁴ Allāh.

²⁵ muntip'likando.

²⁶ a(l)salaes.

²⁷ a(l)zzakees.

²⁸ J 1 kasas; *edition*, J 60:maldades.

²⁹ amonestando.

³⁰ MS purgantes milagros, which is a reading error of "por grande milagro" in J 1.

³¹ salrrá.

³² akel.

³³ salrrá.

³⁴ stiglo.

³⁵ J 1: Tuhema. The animal from the earth, announced in S. 27: 84, see Stieglecker, *Glaubenslehren*, p. 745.

³⁶ J 1 alidajel.

³⁷ MS /o oso.

³⁸ Baytu almaqadiç.

³⁹ a'çe.

quebrantaré la erijía⁴⁰ y sus ordenes⁴¹ y será la tierra en paz so⁴² esta sancta fe, tanto que los ganados y criaturas vivirán seguros de las fieras alimañas y de los que {de} tiranías⁴³ //N 1 f. 64v// vsaban y robaban. Serán todos seguros juntamente. {Salrrán de} bre//J 1 205v//ue los <de> Saguse y Magut⁴⁴ <saldrán>, que Alixandre encerró⁴⁵, y dañarán mucho la tierra y apocarán a las aguas y çercarán a las gentes⁴⁶ a las fortalezas. E imbiará Dios⁴⁷ contra ellos tempestad⁴⁸ y dará {i dará} dellos fin e imbiará llubia que labará la tierra, en fin de lo qual Hize⁴⁹ será falleçido y enterrado cabo el bienaventurado profeta Muhamad y em breue tiempo mandará el señor⁵⁰ a Yçrafil⁵¹, tocador de la voçina, que faga el sollo de la fin y muerte deste presente siglo que todos murren sobre⁵² que {no kedará ni finkará} ni remanezca //J 1 f. 206r// sobre la faz⁵³ de la tierra anima viua en cuerpo humano en ninguna manera que todos no gusten la muerte despues⁵⁴ de la qual fin. En los artículos⁵⁵ sabrán que a de ser resureçión y juyçio.

⁴⁰ MS erija; J 1 erejía.

⁴¹ ordenanças.

⁴² sobre.

⁴³ tiraniya.

⁴⁴ J 1 Sagut i Mayut; cf. S. 18: 94 and S. 21: 95, where they are called Yādjudj and Mādjudj, cf. T 235, S 21: 95, f. 184r, “los de eyucyi gua macyucyi”; *edition*, “Xeud y Meud”.

⁴⁵ MS encarro, J 1 ençerro. A reference to S. 18: 94.

⁴⁶ J 1: [.]ntes.

⁴⁷ Allāh.

⁴⁸ tenpestedā.

⁴⁹ aīçā.

⁵⁰ Allāh.

⁵¹ MS Ycafil.

⁵² J 1 sobbre.

⁵³ kara.

⁵⁴ depu^{es}.

⁵⁵ artikules.

APPENDIX 5. MADRID, B.N. 5252: "T^aratado i dek^alaraçi^yón i g^fa para segir i mantener el-addīn del-aļiqlām", f. 2v-34v.

//f. 2v// [bismillāhi al-rah¹]māni al-rahīmi, wa ṣallā Allāhu ʿalā / sayyidīnā wa nabiyyinā wa mawlānā Muḥammadin al-karīmin, ṣalātan / tāmatan ilā yawmi il-dīni. Al-ḥamdu-lillāhi hādhānā lihādā wa-mā / kunā liqatadā law lā an hādhānā Allāhu alā² / blank line/.

P^rençi^yaremos³ akeste t^aratado i dek^alara/çi^yón i g^fa para segir i mantener el-addīn / del-aļiqlām⁴ kon el nonb^ere de Allāh, ṣubḥānahu, akel <ke> / ke kon su nonb^ere se p^rençi^yan todas las kosas. / Akel señor k-es pi^yadoso de los bu^wenos i de los malos / en-akeste mundo, i^y-el pi^yadoso de los bu^wenos en el otro / mundo. I pu^wes nos fizo g^araçi^ya de inbiarnos a su / mesajero i bi^yenabenturado Muḥammad, ṣ^m, rru^wega/remos a Allāh, taʿālā, k^rreṣka onor sobre nu^west^oro / kawdīllo i bi^yenabenturado Muḥammad el-onrrado i sillo / de los annabīes, akel ke llama a la jente a la obidençi^ya de Allāh / i debi^yeda de hazer mal. Sobreputa nu^west^oro a(l)nnabī a todos //f. 3r// los a(l)nnabīes en ḥaleqami^yento i bu^wenos kostun/b^res i ninguno llega de los a(l)nnabīes kon-él en-onra / ni saber, la salbaçi^yón de Allāh si^ya sobr-él i salbe, de tal / manera ke se^ya durante fasta el dī^ya del judiçi^yo, / amīn, yā rabbi 'l-ʿalamīn. Y-ansi komo ṣelosos de man/tener el-addīn del-aļiqlām rrekonoci^yendo estar e/sta isla <estar> tan eskura akawsa <akawsa> / de perdimi^yento de los sabyos i pu^wes Allāh, taʿālā, le / açi^ya g^araçi^ya i merṣed de hallarse en sazón ke / podi^yan desar alguna lunb^ere para enkaminar a los / ke oy son i por ti^yenpo serān al-addīn del-aļiqlām. /

Este es un t^aratado de todo lo ke konbi^yene para en/kaminar a los inorantes al bu^wen kamino i^y-el-addīn ber/dadero ansi de lo ke el muḥlim ti^yene neṣeçi^ydad para / konoṣer i serbir a su señor i saber ke kosa es / ḥalāl i ḥarām i^y-a ke está obligado i tanbi^yén / dek^alarar las erençi^yas para ke kada uno llebe //f. 3v// su derecho i siga la-ṣṣunna i rregla de nu^west^oro mesajero / Muḥammad, ṣ^m, y-ansī p^rençi^yaremos kon el / nonb^ere de Allāh, akel k-es sin p^rençi^yo ni me/di^yo ni fin i no abe a él kabo ninguno, akel señor ke / kiri^yó el mundo de no nada i nos fizo g^araçi^ya i merṣed de / inbi^yarnos a nu^west^oro p^orofeta i bi^yenabenturado / Muḥammad, ṣ^m. Éste bino al mundo al fin de to-

¹ MS damaged.

² S. 7: 43. The Arabic quotations in the MS are corrupt, see on this phenomenon chapter V.2. These quotations were left unchanged.

³ MS p^rençi^yaremos.

⁴ MS al'iqlām. If this word is written thus below it will not be indicated.

dos los a(l)nnabīes ke fu^weron de g^rado en g^rado enbiados y-al fin / bino Muhammad, š^cm, kon la berdad kon l-alqur'ān ke / en-él se dek^alara lo ḥalāl i lo ḥarām, porke asī lo dize Allāh / ta^cālā / fī kitābihi il-^cazīzi: “wa anzala a(l)ttawrāta / wa 'l-indjīla hudan min qabli li(l)nnās wa anzala / al-furqāna”⁵. Ki^yere dezir ke Allāh, ta^cālā, deçendi^yó / del çì'elo el-attawrā a Mūçā, 'Im, y-el-alinjīl⁶ a / 'Īçā, 'Im, esto fu^we g^ra para las jentes en/denpu^wés deçendi^yó lalqur'ān sobre Muḥammad, š^cm, //f. 4r// [...] para dek^alarar lo ḥalāl i lo ḥaram por el kuwal alqur'ān mu/chas innumerables jentes se gobi^yernan i biben / en la berdad de las ti^yerras de p^romisi^yón i Kasa Santa / de Mmaka, 'azzahā Allāh, donde se manti^yene berdad i jus/tiçī^ya. I pu^wes por la misma rraçón los ke oy biben / i por ti^yenpos bebirán por g^raçi^ya de Allāh, ta^cālā, an / perdido las luzes y-esku^welas y-el^carabi i por esta / mesma rraçón muchos amigos míos de mi t^rabaron /i^y-espeçialmente me rrogaron ke de ^carabi[go] / sakase en-aljemi del dīçho alqur'ān i testos de / shar^ca, lo ke fu^wese a mí posible para ke kon lo dicho / se sigi^yese nu^west^ara muy santa⁸ ley i çunna, porke / de akello todo bu^wen muçlim debe usar sobre ke yo / no me pude eskusar de hazer su mandami^yento konfi/ando en-el rrey soberano akel ke ayuda a / los bu^wenos, / al ku^wal rru^wego por su infenita bondad me enkamine //f. 4v// i me ayude a sakar una tal kopilaçiyón t^rayendo a la me/mori^ya los artikulos i mandami^yentos, no olvidando el / p^resente i b^crebe fin d-este p^resente siglo akor/dándonos de el-último dī^ya del judiçiyó. Komençaremos / por testos de Muḥammad /blank line/ al-ummi⁹, raçiya Allāh ^canhū, ke dixo: / “alḥamdu lillāhi illadhī awraṭhanā kitābahu wa 'ilmuhu 'allamanā”¹⁰ / [d]ize: “la lo'or es a Allāh, akel ke nos di^yo a eredad su / alqur'ān i nos demost^ro çençiyā i saber”. Dize el filósofo¹¹ / ke la erençiyā del alqur'ān, fijos de Edam, ke no son / bi^yenes tenporales ante bi^yenes berjel de to/dos los berjeles del-aljanna, porke en-él se dek^alara / ḥalāl i ḥaram. En-él ay abisos y-ugsurtaçiyones / para kaminar a la g^olori^ya, en-él ay amenazas para gu^wardar/se de la pena del fu^wego, i del dīçho alqur'ān p^oroçe/den todas las

⁵ S. 3: 3-4.

⁶ MS al-'injīl.

⁷ The upper part of this page is heavily damaged, and possibly the first line is missing. An indication that this may be the case is the fact that only sixteen lines are found on this side instead of seventeen, as on the preceding folios.

⁸ MS tanta.

⁹ MS al-jummūmi. *Al-ummi* means the unlettered [prophet], referred to in S. 7: 157. The question whether Muhammad could read and write became an important dogmatical issue incorporated in the doctrine of *ʿġdīz*, see Watt, *Muhammad's Mecca*, pp. 51-53; EI² s.v. *ʿġdīz* [art. G.E. von Grunebaum].

¹⁰ Citation of *Ḥadīth*, cf. S. 35: 32.

¹¹ I have not been able to identify this source.

eskʳituras i libros ke nu^westʳa //f. 5r// sa[nta ley] [...] ¹² ku^w[al] todo muçlim / debe pʳokurar i obrar para eredar esta erençiy a por/ke kon-ella terná i poseerá los dones perpetuos / de la bida del otro mundo, k-es bida perdurable, obrando per/fetamente lo arriba dicho. No faltará el tal de ser ere/dero de jannatu a(l)nnaçimi, komo lo dize Allāh, taʿālā, en su / onrrado alqurʿān: / “wa-ʿdji alnī min warathati djannatu al-naçimi” ¹³./

Kapítulo / pʳimero de komo se dekʳlara lo ke para este pʳesente / siglo konbiʳene para ke los inorantes lo entiʳendan, / rrimitiʳéndome a los ke más entiendiʳeren korri/jgan lo ke por mí faltará. Ada Allāh, taʿālā, rruʳego / me ayude i me de dʳas para ke lo akabe en su santo / serbiçiy o, emīn “waʿl-ççalām manbaç al-djiwār” ¹⁴. / blank line/ fʳlama, sepan todos los muçlimes k-el alqurʿān //f. 5v// (damaged line ¹⁵) / ḥalāl i de ḥaram. Sepas, fijo de Edam, k-el-alqurʿān / es kalāmu Allāhi laysa bi-mukḥluqatin, lalqurʿān es / palabra de Allāh i sepas ke no es kosa ḥaleqada, i ke / en-él están de todas las rrikezas i tʳasoros / i piʳedras pʳeçiy osas y-aljafar ke ay en el / mundo, i para ke los fʳlakos de çençiy a ya no puʳedan / llebar este tan gʳande tʳesoro i les seʳa pesado / sepan iʳ-entiʳendan ke en el dīcho alqurʿān / está “sūрати ilfā-tiḥati” ¹⁶, k-es alḥamdu lillāhi / ke se llama umi-ilqurʿāni, k-es la madre del alqurʿān. / Dizen los sabyos i porponen kes “alḥamdu-lillāhi / saçba mina almathānī” ¹⁷ ke lo figuran por siʳete partes / del alqurʿān a fin iʳ-efekto k-el ke no llegará a sa/ber leer lalqurʿān ke se konsuʳele kon muchas / bezes dezir alḥamdu-lillāh ¹⁸, porke kon-él pʳatikando / podrán gozar de llebar este tʳasoro por largo kamino //f. 6r// ke baya kon solamente alḥam[du] lillāh solo, komo mas larga ¹⁹/[m]jente lo dekʳlara el-alim ²⁰.

Kapítulo / de la dekʳlaraçiy ón de alḥamdu-lillāhi i lo ke el-onbʳe debe en/tender del su walardón. Sepa todo muçlim ke ningun / a(l)şşala ni a(l)rrakça puʳede ser sin alḥamdu-lillāhi porke / kuʳalkiʳere a(l)ççūra ke falta ay imiʳenda i falt/ando alḥamdu-lillāhi ²¹ no lo ay sin bolber de nuʳebo. Sepa / todo muçlim k-él ke haze a(l)şşala rrazona kon su señor, / ke ansi lo dize

¹² The upper line is heavily damaged.

¹³ S. 26: 85.

¹⁴ This reading is uncertain, since the phrase is unvocalized, perhaps it means “amen, and peace is the basis of neighbourhood”?

¹⁵ Apparently the MS deteriorated since 1974. Kontzi (AT) was still able to read the words “es giʳamiʳento”.

¹⁶ MS al-fabahāti.

¹⁷ MS mathāqī. See on the interpretation of this term Watt, *Introduction to the Qurʿān*, pp. 134-5.

¹⁸ Unvocalized.

¹⁹ The line is damaged. I base myself partly on Kontzi’s reading here.

²⁰ MS elalām, but with *kasra* below *lām*.

²¹ Unvocalized.

elannabī Muḥammad, ṣ̣m: “wa’l-muṣallī yunā/djī rabbahu”²², porke dize el dīcho, ‘alayhi a(l)ḥḥālām, ke kon/bi’ene al ke haze a(l)ṣṣala, ke se ad’reze de ropas lin/pi’as sin ninguna kosa ke se’ya ḥaram para hazer / una tan alta obra, i ke al ti’enzo ke se apareja para / ello se porkare al-alka’ba kon la boluntad i de koraçón / porke sepa todo muçlim ke ku’ando el si’erbo dize / en la ṣṣala “Allāhu akbaru”, ki’ere dezir: “Allāh es / mayor”, rresponde la nobleza de Allāh, ta’ālā, i dize: “berdad //f. 6v// dizes, ye mi si’erbo, [por]ke no ay may[o]r señor ke yo”²³, / i ku’ando el si’erbo dize: “alḥamdu-lillāhi”, ke dize: “la lo’or / es a Allāh”, rresponde la nobleza de Allāh: “ye mi si’erbo, / ¿ki’yén es ese Allāh?” Rresponde el si’erbo: “es / rabb al-‘ālamīn”²⁴, es el señor de las jentes, lo’ado i / bendito rrey de los rreyes i señor de los señores, / porke todo esto a nadi perteneçe sino a Allāh. “Pu’es / dizes berdad, ye mi si’erbo, ke no ay señor sino yo, / pu’es ¿ki’yén es el señor de las jentes?” Rresponde el si’erbo: “a(l)rraḥmān a(l)rraḥīm”²⁵; es el pi’adoso / de los bu’enos i de los malos en este mundo y-el ke api’adará / a los bu’enos en el otro mundo. Rresponde la nobleza de Allāh, ta’āla, / i dize: “en todo dizes berdad, ye mi si’erbo, pu’es ¿ki’yén es el pi’adoso api’adador?” Rresponde el si’erbo / i dize: “malik yawm a(l)ddīn”, es el rrey del dī’a del / judiçiyō ke juzgará a los bu’enos y-a los malos; unos / para la g’lori’ya i’-otros para la pena. “Berdad dizes, //f. 7r// ye mi si’erbo, ke yo soy el mayor”²⁶ de los rreyes, sin p’rin/çipi’o ni medi’o ni fin, ni kabo ninguno”. Rresponde / el si’erbo: “es muy g’rande rraçón, ke a señor tan / lo’ado i señor de p’rimeros i çageros, a tan pi’adoso, / a tan g’rande rrey demandarle merçedes disi’endo: / iyyāka na’budu wa iyyāka nasta’īnu”; señor, a tí adora/mos y-a tú demandamos fabor i’-ayuda, kon tu, ye señor, ihdinā al-şirāt al-mustaçīm şirāt alladhīna /an’amtu ‘alayhim ḡhayr al-maḡhdūb ‘alayhim wa lā al-ḍālīn”²⁷, / señor, g’f’anos al kamino rrekto i berdadero del-addīn / del-aḥḥālām, al kamino de akellos ke tu fiziste g’raçi’ya / i merçed, ke son los a(l)nnaḥīes i los de la şihāba, / ‘alayhim a(l)ḥḥālām, enpero rrogamoste: no nos gi’es ni nos / enkamines al kamino de los errados ke son los des/k’reyentes, amīn”²⁸. Pu’es sepan todos ke Allāh, / ta’ālā, rraçona kon el si’erbo en la ṣṣala. I derecho es / ke le page i no enb’raçe su ju’içyo en ot’ra kosa, pu’es //f. 7v// (illegible

²² Unvocalized. This *Hadīth* is mentioned in Wensinck, *Concordance*, e.g. Malik, *Muwaṭṭa’*, *kitāb al-ṣalāt*, *bāb al-‘amal fī ‘l-qirā’a* (no. 29). Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, 67.

²³ Upper line is damaged.

²⁴ Unvocalized.

²⁵ Unvocalized.

²⁶ MS miyor.

²⁷ Unvocalized.

²⁸ Unvocalized.

line²⁹) / faltar punto en tan alta obra. Nu^west^oro señor nos / enkamine en tal manera ke ganemos el p^reçi^yo / i gu^walardón ke por semejante obra se mereçe.

Kapítulo de ke el muçlim ti^yene neçeçidad para konoçer a Allāh/, ta^ʿālā, y-a lo ke está obligado para kunpⁱlir el-addīn. Se/pan todos los muçlimes k-el p^rimer artíkulo k-el / muçlim está obligado es ke konoçka ke Allāh es / uno en su rreⁱsimo solo, / ke no ay a él parçonero ninguno / i k^reer³⁰ ke en el haleqar es un solo señor/ i ke no ay a él en su rreⁱsimo kont^rastante ninguno. / Haze en el haleqar³¹ lo ke él ki^yere i juzga en sekreto / y-en públiko. Enti^yendese ke Allāh, ta^ʿālā, sabe lo sekreto / i lo públiko. No se le enkubre kosa en el çi^yelo, ni en / la ti^yerra, ni se meçe foja de un arbol sino ke Allāh, ta^ʿālā, lo / sabe, ni seka ni berde, porke todo está en karta //f. 8r// k^rlara. Haleqó³² el saber kon su esençi^ya, lo'alto i lo / baso, y-elal^rarsh i lalkurçī i los çi^yelos i las ti^yerras, / i lo ke está en medyo d-ellas, i lo ke está deba/xo de los abismos d-ellas. Sepas, ye fijo de Edam, / ke todos los haleqados³³ an de ser forçados kon la / potestad de Allāh, ta^ʿālā, porke no se mu^webe una formiga / sino ke se^ya kon su liçençi^ya. Sepan todos ke Allāh, / ʿazza wa jalla, no ti^yene en el haleqar³⁴ permutami^yento ninguno, / ni ti^yene aparçero en el rreⁱsimo. Es bibo mantenible. No / lo toma su^weño ni dormimi^yento. Sabe lo p^resente i lo / absente, porke no se le pu^wede eskonder kosa a Allāh, / ta^ʿālā, porke es sabidor de sekreto i públiko. Haze mo/rir i haze bibir, i ordena komo él ki^yere d-ellos. Haleqa³⁵ / Allāh k^reyentes i d-ellos desk^reyentes, / ya-Allāh es sabidor kon lo ke obrarán. Serán todos / rrebibkados el dī^ya del judiçi^yo para dar ku^wenta, / e kada uno de las obras ke abrá echo, i sepas, ye fijo //f. 8v// de Edam, ke lo bu^weno i lo malo ke abrás obrado lo / hallarás en karta k^rlara. Sepan todos ke Allāh, / ta^ʿālā, no se bu^welbe de lo ke juzga, ni nadi se pu^wede defender de su ordenaçi^yón, i no se kita / de lo ke a de hazer en su rreismo. Se haze lo / ke él ki^yere, i haleqa³⁶ i juzga komo él ki^yere. / No ti^yene Allāh, ta^ʿālā, esperança de gu^walardón, / ni tanpoko abe mi^yedo a eskarmi^yento. No ay / sobre Allāh allegami^yento, ni ay sobr-él judiçi^yo / porke toda merçed i g^raçi^ya d-él es iban/tallada, i toda bengança

²⁹ The MS was probably restored a long time ago. Here, a piece of paper is fixed to the upper part of the verso side, which renders the upper line illegible.

³⁰ MS kekereer, second 'ke' corrected by vertical slashes.

³¹ MS haleqar.

³² MS haleqó.

³³ MS haleqados.

³⁴ MS haleqar.

³⁵ MS haleqa.

³⁶ MS haleqa.

d-l es justa. Sepan todos / ke ada Allāh no le será demandado por lo ke haze, enpero los / haleqados serán demandados las obras ke abrán / hecho en el mundo, i bernán todas las jentes delant / la potenciya de Allāh, ta'ālā, el dī'a del judiçio, ansi bu'enos / komo malos, i k'reyentes i desk'reyentes, a dar / ku'enta de sus obras i dirá Allāh, ta'ālā, akel dī'a //f. 9r// wa-amtazu al-yawma ayyuhā al-mudjrimūna³⁷; aparta-os los / malos el dī'a de oy a una parte. I dirá más: “farīqun fī / il-djannati wa farīqun fī il-sa'iri”³⁸. I depu'és de aber juz/gado dirá la nobleza de Allāh a partida bayan al-aljanna i partida ba/yan³⁹ al fu'ego. Pu'es mire el muçlim ku'anto debe mirar / en konoçer a Allāh, çubhānahu, i hazer obras bu'enas ke / por ello mereçka ser akel dī'a en la pi'adad de Allāh, ta'ālā, / i segir i gobernarse kon la çunna de nu'estro p'rofeta / Muḥammad, ş'm, i desar los usos i p'ratikas i t'rajes / de los desk'reyentes, akellos malditos de Allāh, / ta'ālā, ke desan al haleqador i adoran al haleqado⁴⁰ hizi'é/ndolo t'res di'oses, çubhānahu wa ta'ālā ammā yaşifūna: / Tan bendito es Allāh, ta'ālā, i tan apartado de lo ke lo ap'li/kan los malos. I para ke más enti'yenda el muçlim / la g'rande desk'reyença ke el desk'reyent / ti'yene en ap'likar a 'Īçā, 'lm, por señor. Dize / la nobleza de Allāh, ta'ālā, en su alqur'an: “inna maṭhala 'Īsā //f. 9v// 'inda Allāhi kamithali Adam khalaqahu min turābin. Thumma qala / lahu kun fa yakum”⁴¹. I para ke lo enti'endan los inoran/tes, ki'yere dezir ke fu'era tan rraçón de tomar a Edam / por señor komo a 'Īçā, i la rraçón es porke fu'e / fecho de barro i no fu'e más sino ke dixo Allāh, ta'ālā: “sey / i lu'ego es”, ki'yere dezir ke el milagro de 'Īçā en / poder de Allāh es senb'lante d-él de Edam, ke / fu'e, komo arriba digo, en “kun fa yakun”. Ansi, ermanos, mucho / konbi'yene afirmarse todo muçlim kon Allāh, çubhānahu, un / solo señor, akel ke haze morir i haze bebir y-es sobre / toda kosa poderoso i a él abemos de ser tornados a / dar ku'ento el dī'a del judiçio. I todo muçlim enti'yenda i p'rokure de ganar el mérito i lugar kel-está / gu'ardado al bu'en muçlim en laljanna, porke ansi lo dize / el sabi'yo: / “bushran lanā ma'shra al-islāmi ina lanā mina al-ghināyatihi ru/knan gha[y?]ra manhadim”: o jentes, alb'riçiyas i goz [sic] //f. 10r// bu'eno pu'eden tener las konpañas del aljanna / del-addīn del-aliçlām, porke a ellos abrá el dī'a del judiçio un rrinkón fu'era i lugar i la g'loriya de derrokant, / ke será firme para ellos. Dize más: / “lamma da'ā Allāh dā'inā li-tā'atihi bi'l-akrami i(l)rrasūli / kunnā akrama al-umami”⁴². / Dize ke ku'ando Allāh, ta'ālā, / llamará a la gente a la-'obidençiya de su

³⁷ S. 36: 59.

³⁸ S. 42: 7.

³⁹ MS yayan.

⁴⁰ MS haleqado.

⁴¹ S. 3: 59.

⁴² I have not able to identify this 'sabiyo'.

ju'iči'o kon el más on/rrado de los mesajeros, nosotros seremos los más onrra/dos de las alumas. I pu^wes somos či^yertos no pu^weden / mentir los dichos del alqur'ān i testos de alimes mucho / debe mirar el muçlim en serbir i kere^yer kon Allāh / i kon su mensajero Muhammad, š^m, sillo de los a(l)n-nabīes i kun/p'li^r los çinko a(l)şşalaes i dayunar el mes de Ramaḍān / onrrado i pagar la z^zakā en-espeçi^yal la z^zakā del- al/fitra⁴³ i fazer alḥajj a la Kasa Santa de Mmaka, ʿazzahā Allāh, / si tubi^yere poder para ello, i hazer a(l)şş-adaqa a pobres i^y-a / meçkinos i enparar biwdas i pupillos⁴⁴ i gu^wérfanos, //f. 10v// onrrar al padre y-a la madre por kunp'li^r el mandami^yento / de Allāh, ta^ʿālā, ke dize: / “anuşhkura lī wa li-wāliddaya ilaya al-mamiru”⁴⁵. Dize Allāh, ta^ʿālā, ye-igwala este dīcho kon el dixi^yendo: “agradeçeme a mí / y-a bu^west^ro padre i madre porke a mí abeys de ser tor/nados”. Konbi^yene a todo muçlim ke k^re^ya i ke obre las / obras ke t^rás de a dīcho kon bu^wen koraçón i bu^wena / boluntad, i sigi^yendo la çunna de nu^west^ro a(l)nnabī Muḥammad, / š^m, i tubi^yendo esperança ke la pi^yadad de Allāh / está çerka de los bu^wenos porke no faltará lo ke / Allāh dize en su alqur'ān onrrado al-ʿazīzun: “inna raḥmata Allāhi <Allāh⁴⁶> qarībun mina al-muḥsinīna”⁴⁷, / ke la pi^yadad de Allāh es çerka de los bu^wenos. Hizi/^yéndolo de a(l)rriba contenido el muçlim gozará de los rrin/kones i g^radas altas del aljanna ku^wando el llamami^yento bend^rá para el ku^wento el último el dī'a / del judiçiyō.

Kapítulo //f. 11r// de la temORIZAR al muçlim para konoçer a Allāh, çubḥānahu. Ya a/bemos dīcho lo ke el-onb^re i bu^wen muçlim a de hazer para / konoçer i k^reer kon Allāh, ta^ʿālā, i ku^wan pi^yadoso / es i ke tan g^rande señor es, i ke fu^werte de / bengança es, porke así lo dize en lalqur'ān: / “wa Allāh ʿazīzun du antiqāmi”⁴⁸, ke Allāh es muy onrrado, i de / bengança. Mucho konbi^yene ke el muçlim konoçka / a su señor, ke es uno solo sin aparçero a él, i ke no lo / pu^weden be^yer los ojos ni lo pu^weden senb^rlançar los / qoraçones. Allāh, çubḥānahu, fu^we i no fu^we. No lo alkança lu/gar i-y-está en todo lugar, señor ke nos be^ye i nadi lo pu^wede / be^yer. Está más çerka de nosotros ke la ku^werda del / çerbigal. No mires ni pi^yenses, ermano, ki^yen tu [...⁴⁹] pu^wede ser Allāh, çubḥānahu, ni le figures ku^werpo ni lado sino /

⁴³ See for this *zaka*: f. 56r-v.

⁴⁴ Pupillos with *sukān* on first l.

⁴⁵ S. 31: 14.

⁴⁶ Corrected in the MS.

⁴⁷ S. 7: 56.

⁴⁸ S. 3: 4; see also S. 5: 90; 14: 47; 39: 37.

⁴⁹ Something, probably a whole line, is missing.

mira biʿen sus milagros en este mundo ke lo haleqó⁵⁰ en / seys dīʿas i depuʿés de iguʿaló sobre su al-ʿarṣh / porke así lo dize fī kitābihi al-ʿazīzi: “khalaqa //f. 11v// al-ṣamāwāti wa al-arḍi fī sittati ayyāmin, thumma astawa / ʿalā al-ʿarṣhi”⁵¹. Haze Allāh, taʿālā, eskonder la noche en el / dīʿa iʿ-el dīʿa en la noche iʿ-el sol i la luna i las es/tʿrellas, todas están sujetadas debajo de su / mandamiʿento. A él es haleqar i mandar. Ada Allāh, / taʿālā, es el dar guwalardón a kiʿen él kiʿere i ʿa/debar a kiʿen él kiʿere, i no se le puʿede figurar / sin rraçón ninguna i para ke el muçlim no kayga en / la saña de Allāh, puʿes bemos ke amenaza kon lalqurʿān, donde dize: “ʿazīzun dū antiqām”⁵², k-es Allāh / onrrado de bengança. I más dize / fī kitābihi al-ʿazīz: “wa-ilaya al-maṣīr”⁵³, puʿes aguʿwardaos, mi [sic] siʿerbos, ke a mí abeys de ser tornados / a dar kuʿenta de buʿesas obras porke por ellas / seréys repʿobados, ke ansí lo dize Allāh, taʿālā, / “khalaqa al-mawta wa al-ḥayāta liyabluwakumu wa-ayyukumu <w> aḥsanu / ʿamālan wwa huwa al-ʿazīzu al-ghafūru”⁵⁴, ke Allāh haleqó la muʿert //f. 12r// i la bida para rrepʿobaros kuʿal de bosotros será de mejor / obra, porke Allāh, taʿālā, es el onrrado perdonador. Mucho / debes mirar, ye fijo de Edam, de desar los biçyos / i pekados i no kʿreʿer en kosa haleqada ni figu/rada ni-ʿordenada en el mundo k-ella no siʿa kosa ke / por ella no se puʿede ganar el çīʿelo enpero kʿreʿer / y-afirmarse kon Allāh, çubḥānahu, akel k-es hale/qador de toda kosa, uno en su rreʿismo, señor obede/çido, ni enjendʿró ni fuʿe enjendʿrado, ni ay a él / kabo ninguno, i kʿreʿer ke Muḥammad, sʿm, bino kon /la berdad kon el dicho berdadero del-alqurʿān porke / ni fuʿe bulrra ni eskarniʿo: “bal huwa qurʿānun muḥammad muçjīdun fī lawḥi maḥfūzin,”⁵⁵ / enpero es lalqurʿān loʿado eskʿrito en lawḥi il-maḥfūzi / y-ansī ke mucho konbiʿene al muçlim kʿreʿer⁵⁶ en lo arriba / dicho y-en lo ke Allāh a ordenado, porke ansí lo dize Allāh, taʿālā: / “qad djaʿala Allāhu likulli ṣhayʿin qadran”⁵⁷, kʿreer en la //f. 12v// ordenaçiʿón, ke todo está ordenado, buʿeno i malo, / dulce i-y-amargo, i kʿreʿer ke todo está eskʿrito / en karta kʿlara, i kʿreʿer ke Muḥammad ke bino kon la ber/dad i k-el-aljanna es berdad, i k-el fuʿego ke es / berdad, iʿ-el puʿen de la-ṣṣirāt k-es berdad, i ke / a de pasar kada uno por él. Unos pasarán komo el-ayre, / otros komo kaballos, kada uno korriʿendo, / “bi-qadri

⁵⁰ MS haleqó.

⁵¹ S. 57: 4.

⁵² See note 48.

⁵³ S. 22: 47.

⁵⁴ S. 67: 2.

⁵⁵ S. 85: 21-2.

⁵⁶ MS keʿer.

⁵⁷ S. 65: 3.

a^cmālihīm⁵⁸”. Kada uno pasará según las obras / terná, i k^cre^ʔer k-el peso es berdad, porke / dize Allāh, ta^cālā: “wa al-wazna yawma’idhīn al-ḥaqquⁿ”⁵⁹. “El peso”, dize, / noble es su nobleza, “el dī’a del judiçī’o dirá la berdad”. / Justamente kon esto es menester obrar de koraçón / i hablar kon la lengüa i purifikar kon el koraçón la palabra / de “lā ilāha illā Allāh, Muḥammadan rrasūlu Allāhi”, i toda obra ke se haga / no es aḥebta sino ke se^ʔa de qoraçón porke así / lo diçe el-annabī, ‘alayhi a(l)ḥḥālām: “wa’l-kalāmu bi’l-lisāni wa ’lihlāšu / bi’l-qalbi”, ke el hablar a de ser kon la boka i la purifikaçi’ón //f. 13r// a de ser kon el koraçón. Allāh, ta^cālā, gi’e i-yenkamine a los de/l-aluma del annabī Muḥammad, ṣ^cm, a su obidençī’a para ke hagan / obras ke mereçkan ser de los bi’nenabenturados / kon “jannatu a(l)nna^cimi”. Mira, ye fijo de Edam, bastaro/s-i’a para bosotros para monestaçi’ón solo la mu^werte / porke oy está uno en sus biçi’os i rregalos i los / rreyes i g^arandes señores gobernando sus bilas / i g^arandes lugares i mañana ya jazen debaxo de la / ti’erra, ke no se pudi’eron defender kon sus t^raso/ros ni rrikezas de la mu^werte ni aun kiçá hazer al-wa/ṣiya, pu^wes ḡké son de tus padres i de muchas / te le das pasadas ante de tu ke an desado el mundo / i jamás a él an sido tornados? I mira por tú, por/ke manaña te llamarán-i de fu^werça desará el mundo, así / komo ellos lo dexaron. Obra para tu alma ante ke benga / la mu^werte porke kada dī’a i ora está tendi’endo / su alkafan por ke ansī lo dize el-alim: “al-mawtu //f. 13v// fi kulli ḥīnin yanshuru alkamanā⁶⁰”. La mu^werte, ye fijo / de Edam, tod-ora⁶¹ ti’ende su alkafan, pu^wes konbi’ene / ke tu no asegures del mundo ni de su fermosura por/ke te kedarás burlado así komo kedaron los / ke fu^weron ante de nos. Sepas porke mejor / enti’yendas a lo ke estás obligado. Te hago a sa/ber ke depu^wés de la mu^werte bi’enen espantos / depu^wés d-espantos, la eskuridad de la fu^wesa / i la demanda de los almalakes onrrados Munkarun / wa Nakiru, ke hazen demanda a kada uno kon / sendas maças de hi’erro en los onb^oros muy / ferostigos y-espantibles. I dizen d-esta / manera ḡki’yén es tu señor i ku^wál es tu a(l)ddīn, / i ki’yén es tu gī’a i ki’yén es tu alqibla i ki’yén es tu a(l)nnabī? El ke Allāh le haze g^araçi’a de te/ner bu^wenas obras rresponde i dize: “Allāh es / mi señor i’y-el-addīn del-aliçlām es mi a(l)ddīn i Mmaka //f. 14r// es mi alqibla i lalqur’ān es mi gī’a, i Muḥammad es / mi a(l)nnabī”, i’y-el ke ti’ene malas obras i’y-el des/k^creyente dize: “tu eres mi señor”, i la’ora le da kon la / maça i lo hunde a los abismos de la ti’erra. Pu^wes en/tended, ermanos mī’os, ke abéys de morir i’y-a/beys de pasar estos espantos i depu^wés abéys

⁵⁸ Not a citation from the Qur’ān.

⁵⁹ S 7: 8.

⁶⁰ Read: “al-mawt fi kull hīn yanshuru al-kafan”, not found in *Concordance*.

⁶¹ i.e. toda hora.

/ de ser rrebibkados delante la potençî'a debina para la / g^olori'a si tubi'eredes bu^wenas obras i k^ereereys / kon Allāh, ta^cālā, i su mesajero Muḥammad, š^cm, gi^yaros / ays por lalqur'ān: / "lā taqnaṭū min rraḥmati illāhi inna Allāha yaghfiru a(l)-ddunūb / djam^cin⁶² innahu huwa al-ghafūru al-rraḥīmu"⁶³, ye mis si^yerbos, / no-s desfeozeys de la pi^yadad de Allāh, ta^cālā, ke Allāh / es perdonador de los pekados porke él es / el perdonador pi^yadoso, y-ansimesmo serān rrebib/kados los desk^ereyentes ke desk^ere^ye/ron kon Allāh i kon su mesajero i todos los malos //f. 14v// para jahannam perpetuamente ellos en ella durables, / defi^yendanos Allāh, ta^cālā, a todos los muçlimes d-ella, / i nos ponga debaso de su sonb^ra de lanpara de nu^wes/t^oro a(l)nnabī i^y-en su rrogari'a porke ninguna rrogari'a / de a(l)nnabī enbi^yado ni a^cerkado akel dī'a ap^rrobe-chará / sino la de Muḥammad, š^cm, emin, porke dize: / "man llaw lāh lam tuhrīdju al-ddunyā mina al-^cadami"⁶⁴, ke si no / fu^wera por amor de Muḥammad, š^cm, no abri^ya sallido el mundo / de eskuridat i çegedat, la salbaçî'ón de Allāh se^ya / sobr-él, i sobre los ke sigen la gⁱa del-alqur'ān y-addīn / berdadero, emīn yā rabbi al-^cālamīn. /

Kapítulo / para dek^alarar sumaryamente la desk^ereyença. Se/pa todo muçlim ke Allāh, ta^cālā, haleqó el mundo i todas / las kosas ke en él se an k^riado i haleqó las jentes / de los k^ereyentes i d-ellos desk^ereyentes, / y-Allāh es sabidor kon lo ke obran, porke así //f. 15r// lo dize en su onrrado alqur'ān: "wa-huwa alladhī khalaqa lakum / fa-minkum kāfirun wwa minku mu'minu wa Allāhu bi-mā / ta^cmalūna khabirun"⁶⁵, pi^yense todo muçlim i k^ere^ye ke / Allāh todo lo be^ye i lo-'ordena todo asī komo él ki^yere i le p^alaze / i da a(l)rrizqe al desk^ereyente komo al k^ereyent / en este mundo por su pi^yadad i^y-en el otro mundo el desk^e/reyente irá a jahannam y-el bu^wen muçlim k^ereyent / kon Allāh al-aljanna hizi^yendo bu^wenas obras. En/ti^yenda todo muçlim ke los ke Allāh a ordenado ke se^yan desk^ereyentes, ellos no k^ere^yerān kon / Allāh ni kon su mesajero Muḥammad, š^cm, fasta ke tas/ten el-al^cadeb del fu^wego, porke así lo dize el-alqur'ān, / onrrado es: /al-^cazīz: "lā yu'minū ḥattā yarāhu al-^cadhābin al-alīmu"⁶⁶, / i por eso el dīcho del alqur'ān no pu^wede mentir porke / si^yendo ellos para jahannam kobdiçî'an ke todas los / muçlimes lo seamos, pu^wes a fu^werça los ki^yeren t^ra//f. 15v//er komo lo abemos bisto a la desk^ereyença <komo lo / abemos bisto⁶⁷> por kunpⁱlir el dīcho de Allāh ta^cālā ke dize: /"waddu law takfurūna kammā kafarū"⁶⁸, dize: "todos / los

⁶² After *djam^c* an unvocalized *ya'* is written.

⁶³ S. 39: 53.

⁶⁴ "man law lā ... lam tuhrīdju al-dunyā min al-^cadam" (?). Source unknown.

⁶⁵ S. 64: 2.

⁶⁶ S. 10: 97.

⁶⁷ Corrected in the MS.

⁶⁸ S. 4: 89.

desk^{re}yentes dese^{an} ke todos des/k^{re}en komo ellos, porke los akonpañen en / k^{re}er banedades i desar a Allāh, ⁶⁹azza wa jalla, señor / uno en su rre^{ismo} solo, sin ningun <eredero⁶⁹> aparçero, / akel ke kiri^ó todos los haleqados y-a a(l)nnabīes / enbi^{ados}". Haleqó nu^west^oro pⁱrimero padre Edam, ⁷⁰Im, / de barro i fu^we sallido del-aljanna por su pekado. P^{re}ba por a/leya del-alqur^{an} i fu^we perdonado por su rrepenten/çi^a i de aí naçi^ó a nosotros, ke somos fijos de Edam. / Sepan todos ke las miseri^{as} i pekados. Akí toman / los desk^{re}yentes engaño dixi^{endo} ¿kómo⁷⁰ podi^a / ser derremido el pekado de Edam sino ke Allah inbi^{yase} / a ⁷¹Īcā ke le llaman ellos Kⁱristo? Dizen i ki^{eren} / ke es fijo de Allāh, çubhānahu wa ta^{ālā}, tan bendito i tan //f. 16r// apartado es Allāh de lo ke le apⁱlikan los desk^{re}/yentes. Dizen k-el dicho ⁷²Īcā de hecho fu^we / k^{ru}çifikado i mu^werto i ke d-esta manera fu^weron / ellos derremidos, çubhānahu Allāh, i la g^arande çegedad ke / Allāh, ⁷³azza wa jalla, si^{yendo} poderoso i tan justo, ke no / pudi^{yese} derremir i perdonar el pekado de Edam sino / ke muri^{yese} ⁷⁴Īcā, ke pagen justos por peka/dores. Es muy g^arande mentira, ke no fu^we k^{ru}çifi/kado ni mu^werto, antes fu^we mesajero de Allāh, ta^{ālā}, / al pu^weblo de Irrā^{el} kon lalinjil, porke Allāh, ta^{ālā}, dize: /blank line / "wa-mā qatalūhu wa mā şalabūhu wa lākin⁷¹ şhubbihu / lahum wa mā qatalūhu faqīna bal wafa^{chu} Allāhu ilayhi⁷² /. No fu^we ⁷⁵Īcā mu^werto ni k^{ru}çifikado enpero pareçi^{oles} / ser él. Dize más: "ni lo mataron ni lo k^{ru}çifikaron en/pero Allāh, ta^{ālā}, lo subyó a los çi^{yelos}". Esto es muy çi^{yerto}, ke ellos li^{yeban}⁷³ k-en esto g^arande engaño. //f. 16v// I de akí a naçido su perdimi^{yento} i banig^{lori}y^a d-ellos, / Allāh nos defi^{yenda} de su mal kamino, ke ningun on/b^{re} umano pi^{yense} ke le apⁱlikan fijo. ¡O ke tan / g^arande falsi^ya i banedad, çubhānahu! No tan solamente par/ran⁷⁴ kon esto ke antes se g^olorifikan i suben / muchas i dibersas personas en sus t^{ri}bunales ala/bando los milagros del haleqado i desar al ke lo haleqó a él / y-a todas las kⁱri^{aturas}, hizi^{yéndolo} igu^wal del padre / y-abonarle otra terçera persona i tanbi^{yén} alabar sus / fechos komo de kiri^{yador} si^{yendo} el kiri^{yado}. P^{ro}/baremos kon el dīcho del- alqur^{an} la g^arande banedad, / donde dize Allāh, çubhānahu: /"yā ahlā al-kitābi lā taghlū fī dinikum wa lā taqulū / ⁷⁵alā Allāh ilā 'l haqu inna mā 'l-masiḥu ⁷⁶Īsā ibnu Maryama / rasūlu illāhi wa kalimātuhu alqāhā ilā Maryam wa- rrūḥu / minhu fa āmanū bi'llāhi wa rasūlihi wa lā taqalū ⁷⁷thalāthatun / inamā Allāhu illahi wāḥidun fā-iyayā fā-arhabūna⁷⁵ //f.

⁶⁹ Corrected in the MS.

⁷⁰ MS kono.

⁷¹ *lakim* (sic) followed by an isolated *nān* with *sukān*.

⁷² S. 4: 157-8.

⁷³ MS libeban.

⁷⁴ First *rā'* written with *sukān*, second with *fatha*.

⁷⁵ S. 4: 171; S. 2: 40.

17r// Dize: “ye pu^weblo de Irra’el i konpañā de k’risti^yanos, no / bos eng^aran-deçkáy^s kon bu^weso a(l)ddīn i no se diga / sobre Allāh, ta^cālā, sino la berdad, porke lo ke deziys / es falso, ke almaçih Ğīcā ibnu Maryam, akel / ke tomáy^s por señor es mesajero de Allāh i kon / palabra de Allāh se enjend^oró en el bi^yent^re de Mar/yam i kon el rresullo i^y-el kerimi^yento de la nobleza de Allāh”. / Pu^wes k^rre^ye kon Allāh i kon lo ke hizo kon su / mesajero Muḥammad el milagro en Ğīcā, Ğlm, i no si^yan / dichos t^res di^yoses, porke d-esa manera no abri^ya / konçi^yerto en t^res pareçeres, sino ke Allāh es / solo sin parçonero ninguno. I⁷⁶ hizo akel milagro en Maryam / y-en Ğīcā, Ğlm, komo se dize en lalqur’ān: / “wa Maryama abnat Ğimarāna alatī aḥsanat fardjahā fana/fadjnā fihā min rrūhina wa dja^aalnāhā wa ibnahā ayyatan lil-^calamīna”⁷⁷, / dize Allāh: “Maryam fija de Ğm^arana, ella fu^we linpi^ya i kasta / en su natura i rresollamos en ella de nu^west^oro espiritu //f. 17v// [..⁷⁸] posimosla a ella i^y-a su fijo milagro ent^re las jentes / de manera ke los desk^reyentes an tomado a Mar/yam y-a-^cĞīcā por señores i rreparadores de sus / pekados”, i para esto dize la nobleza de Allāh, ta^cālā: / “wa-yawma al-qiyāmati ^calaykum shahidan”⁷⁹. Agu^wardaos / desk^reyentes, ke esos ke bosotros tomáy^s / por abogados i señores el d^ra del judiçiy^o ellos / serán testigos ku^went^ara bosotros, porke Allāh, /ta^cālā, dirá kon aleya: / “wa id qāla Allāhu yā Ğīsā ibnu Maryama antu qultu / li(l)nnāsi itahidunī wa-ammī ilahayni min dūn illāhi qāla subhānaka / mā yakūnu lī an aqala mā laysilī bi-ḥaqqin in qultu qultahu faqad / ^calimtuh ta^clamu mā fī nafsī wa lā a^clamu mā fī nafsika/ innakum anta ^callāmu al-ghuyūbi”⁸⁰. / En el mesmo d^ra del ku^wento dize Allāh: “ye Ğīcā /ibnu Maryam, tu-as dīcho a las jentes ke tomen / a tu y-a tu madre por señores a menos de Allāh”. //f. 18r// Dirá Ğīcā: “tan bendito eres tu, ye señor, no es / dado a mi otra kosa sino dezir berdad, enpero, señor, / si yo lo e dicho tu muy bi^yen lo sabes, porke tu, / señor, sabes lo ke está en mi persona i yo no se lo k-está / en sus personas d-ellos i^y-ello es çiy^rerto, / ke tu sabes todo lo ke ellos enkobren i se/kretan”. / “Fa-qultu lahum ila mā amartanī bihi anu a^cbudu wa Allāha rabbī wa ra/bbikum wa-kuntu ^calayhim shahidan mā dumtu fihim falamān /lawa faytanī kunta anta al-rafiū ^calayhim wa anta ^calā kulli / shay’ shahidun intu ^cadibhum fa-innahum ^cibāduka / wa in taghfir lahum fa-innaka anta al-^cazīzu al-ḥakīmu”⁸¹. / Yo no e dicho a ellos sino akello ke tu

⁷⁶ *Alif* without vocal.

⁷⁷ Combination of S. 66: 12 and S. 23: 50. “lil-^calamīna” (in the text) is not part of S. 23: 50. There may be two explanations: the author may have wrongly remembered this particular *āya*, or he may be quoting from some other source, possibly a *tafsir* work.

⁷⁸ One letter probably missing.

⁷⁹ S. 4: 159.

⁸⁰ S. 5: 116.

⁸¹ S. 5: 117-118.

me as mandado ko/n ello en ke adoren a Allāh mi señor i su señor i tu, ye se/ñor, es sobr-ellos testigo. Yo me doy por kito d-ellos / i tu, señor, me harás morir i serás tu, señor, el rreko/noçedor sobr-ellos, ke tu eres sobre toda kosa <p^{re}> //f. 18v// p^{re}sente. Si los kerras adebarlos ellos son tus / si^yerbos i si los kerras perdonar, pu^wes / tu es el onrrado ç^yente. Entonçes dirá Allāh: ake/ste d^ya de oy ap^orobechará a los berdaderos i bu^wenos / kon bu^wenas obras. A ellos les será dada laljanna, / akella ke korren d-ella rr^yos de pi^yedras p^{re}/ç^yosas perpetuamente en-ella kon-nos ke se / kontentará Allāh d-ellos i^y-ellos d-él, porke akello / es walardón i sastifaç^yón g^rande. A Allāh es / el rreismo de los ç^yelos i de las ti^yerras i de lo / ke está en medyo d-ellas y-el es sobre toda ko/sa poderoso, ke kastigará al desk^reyent / por su desk^reyença i no se podrá defen/der del-al^adeb de jahannam, ni les valdarán sus di^yoses, ni adbogados ni figuras ni allegar falsos / testigos para hazer la mentira berdad porke Allāh / sabe lo ke ellos enkobren en sus koraçones. //f. 19r// Allāh enkaminará al bu^wen muçlim al kamino de la g^olori^ya / por su a(l)rrahma g^rande. /

Kapítulo / para rreformat más el-addīn del-aliçlām i ber el en/gaño del desk^reyente. I komo bini^yeron / Mūçā i ʿĪçā, ʿalayhim i(l)ççalām, kada uno a su / konpañia de parte de Allāh, mesajeros, alb^riçi^yando / ke Muḥammad, s^m, ab^ra de benir kon la berdad i / kon kosa p^{re}sente ke fu^we lalqur^ʾān, y-allí para/ron todos los a(l)nnabīes, şalawātu Allāhi ʿalayhim. / Dize el sabi^yo al-fāliḥ⁸² i depu^wes allegaremos kon / lalqur^ʾān onrrado: “tabāraka Allāhu mā waḥyun bi-muktahibin wwa lā qabiyun ʿala ḡhaybi/ bimutahim”⁸³, porke allegan los desk^reyentes / ke Muḥammad, s^m, era t^orobador y-annabī en kaso absente. / Dize: “tan bendito es Allāh ke inbi^yo a Muḥammad, s^m / kon rrebelaç^yón i no fu^we su alwaḥī kosa t^orobada //f. 19v// ni-a(l)nnabī sobre kosa absente para ke tomen sos/pecha, ante es mesajero de la berdad i kandela rres/p^rlandeç^yente”. Dize Allāh, ta^ʿālā, en su onrrado alqur^ʾān: / blank line / “wa-mā ʿalamnāhu al-shi^ʿra wa mā yanbagḥī lahu”⁸⁴, no demost^re/mos a(l)nnabī, ʿlm, echizos ni kosa mala porke no kon/ben^ra a él, enpero no es sino dek^alarador de/l-alqur^ʾān k^alaramente. Diremos ke Mūçā, ʿlm, / dixo a su konpañia por lalqur^ʾān onrrado: /blank line/ “wa id qāla Mūsā li-qawmihi yā qawmi lima tūdunanī / wa qad ta^ʿlamūna anī rasūlu illāhi ilaykum falamānā ḡhuwa/ azāghu Allāhu qalūbahum wa Allāh lā yahdi il-qawmi il-fāsiqīna”⁸⁵. Dixo Mūçā a su konpañia: “ye konpañia, no me adores / a mí, ni tanpoko agáys por mi la obra ke soy mesajero / de Allāh ta^ʿālā a bosotros i puso Allāh,

⁸² al-salīḥ?

⁸³ I have not been able to identify this source.

⁸⁴ S. 36: 69. The Spanish paraphrase is based on a wrong interpretation of the Arabic text.

⁸⁵ S. 61: 5.

ta^cālā, duriçi'yo / en sus koraçones i-ya Allāh no gi'ya a las konpañas //f. 20r// de los malos". Wa id qala 'Īsā ibn Maryama / yā banī isrā'īl inī rasūlu Allāhu ilaykum muşadiqan / Ili-mā bayna yadaya mina a(l)tawrāta wa mubaşhīran bi-rasūlin ya/tī mina ba^cdī ismahu Aḥmad fa-lammā dja'hum bi'l-bayyināti / qālū hāḏha siḥrun mubīnun⁸⁶. / Dixo 'Īcā ibnu Maryam, disi'endoles la berdad: / "ye pu^weblo de Irrael, yo soy mesajero de Allāh a bo/sotros i konfirmo i^y87- aberdadeçko lo ke ante de mí / se os-a dek^alarado del-attawrā i alb'riçi'os, i çertefi/ko'os kon un mesajero i sillo de los a(l)nnabīes / ke depu^wés de mi berrná, ke su nonb^ere se dize / Aḥmad, y-en la ti'yerra se dirá Muḥammad, ku^wando ello les / bino kon la berdad, dixerone ke era hechizero k^alara/mente. K^erī'an eskonder la luz ke Allāh abī'a⁸⁸ de / inbi'ar del-annabī Muḥammad, ş^cm, kon sus malos pensa/mi'entos⁸⁹, / wa Allāh mutimmin kūrātu wa law kariha al-kāfirūna⁹⁰, yā Allāh kunpilirá su luz para sillar todos //f. 20v// los pasados kon la luz de Muḥammad, aunke pese a los / desk^ereyentes. I si los muçlimes ki'yeren / ser gi'ados a una merkaderi'a ke kon-ella / se salben del-al^adeb doli'yente k^ere'an kon Allāh i kon su mesajero Muḥammad, ş^cm, i gasten / sus algos en şadaqas y-en fī çabil-illāhi / i sus per^esonas, porke akella es la mejor / merkaderi'a, i si obrerán kon ella y-otra kosa / ke serán amados de Allāh i defendidos de la pena / fu^werte i^y-esto tomen por alb'riçi'as / los k^ereyentes./

Kapítulo / p^rimero de los p^erençipales mandami'yentos / del-addīn del-aliçlām. Pu^wes Allāh inbi'ó al p^orofe/ta i bi'yenabenturado Muḥammad, ş^cm, kon-el / alqur'ān ke en él se konti'yene la çunna i debe/dami'yentos i kastigos i^y-amenazes i p^orometimi//f. 21r//entos b^erebes i konp^erendibles mandami'yen/tos en la ddīn del-aliçlām i çuna. / P^rimeramente el muçlim solamente Allāh a-d-adorar / sin at^erebuirle ninguna semejança. Es poderoso / sobre lo ke ki'yere. Enbi'yonos a su eskojido i bi'yenabenturado a(l)nnabī Muḥammad, ş^cm. Ama a tu p^oro/simo komo a tí mismo i kerras para él lo ke para tí / kerri'as. Onrra al bezino i gu^warda su onrra i^y-en/kobre su tacha, porke es de los pari'yentes / çerkanos por el dīcho de Allāh, ta^cālā: /"wa'l-djārī dī il-qurbā"⁹¹. P^orokurarás kontinamen/te ser linpi'yo kon alwadū' i^y-elaṭahur manteni'yendo los çinko a(l)şşalaes kontinamente. Sey / obidi'yente a tu padre i madre aunke si'an in/fi'yeles. P^orokurar de no jurar en bano porke así / lo dize Allāh: "wa-adjmatnū aymānakum"⁹², gu^wardaos / sobre bu^west^aras juras

⁸⁶ S 61: 6.

⁸⁷ MS aya berdadezko

⁸⁸ Initial *alif* written without vocal.

⁸⁹ Cf. S. 61: 7.

⁹⁰ S. 61: 7.

⁹¹ S. 4: 36.

⁹² S. 5: 89.

no seʿan enbano. <Gu> //f. 21v//guʿardaos de tomar lo ajeno, de hazer a(l)zzine. Pa/garás los a(l)zzakāes, espeçiyalmente el-azzakā / del-alfitra, un kuʿartal de los del annabī Muḥammad, ş̣m, / por kada perʿsona maskulo o fenbʿra, ḥurro o katibo / de los del-aliçlām. A de ser el kuʿartal de tʿrigo / o çebada o çenteno o dátiles al fin ke seʿa de la / biʿanda ke más se pʿlatika komer en la billa o lugar. / Dayunarás el mes de Ramaḍān onrrado i kun/pʿlir lalhaj si ubires poder para ello. Onrrarás / el dīʿa del-aljumuʿa más ke todos los dīʿas kon toda / linpiʿeza i debotas rrogarʿas i bestir akel dīʿa las / mejores rropas ke tengáys. A los sabyos onrra/rás a los pobres iʿ-a los alimes pork-el-aljumuʿa, / dize a(l)nnabī, ş̣m, “ḥaḍjdjun al-māsakīn”⁹³, aljumuʿa es / alḥaj para los pobres i meçkinos. Morirás por / mantener el-addīn kon tu perʿsona i biʿenes. / Onrrarás al bezino. Ospedarás al biʿandante i no tor//f. 22r//nes el demandante de nada ke demande par-amor de / Allāh, ni fuʿerçes al pupilo por el dicho del-alqurʿān: “fā ammāʿl-yatīma fa-lā taqhar wa ammāʿl-sāʿil fa lā tanhar”⁹⁴. / Dize Allāh: “akuʿanto el pupilo tu⁹⁵ no le fagas fuʿerça, / akuʿanto el demandante puʿes no le negáys de la / rriçke ke Allāh os a dado”, i no kʿrebanteys /la jura o boto sino lo ke fuʿere kuʿentʿra la ley i no / merkéys kosa hurtada ni ḥaram i no seáys / kawsador ni konsentidor del pekado, ke se/rás aparçero kon él. Kunpʿle el peso i la me/sura, i da lo suyo a su duʿeño. I no hagas engaño ni / tʿraiçiyón, i no te abantajes en la merka-deriʿa / kon rrenuʿebo. Guʿardate de la gʿrandiʿa i guʿar/date de beber el bino, ni kosa k-enbʿriage i no / komas la morteçina ni karne de puʿerko ni / sangʿre ni kosa dubdosa ni mal degollada, porke / anṣi lo dize el-alqurʿān: “ḥurrimat ʿalaykum //f. 22v// al-maytatu waʿl-dama wa laḥma al-ḥūziri wa mā uhilla / li-ghayri illāhi bihi”⁹⁶. Dize Allāh: “ye akellos ke soys / kʿreyentes es ḥaram sobre bosotros la mor/tezina, karne i la sangʿre i karne del puʿerko / i toda kosa ke se deguʿella sin ʿbismillah wa-allah akbar⁹⁷”. / I kuʿando enkontʿrareys a ninguno de los muçlimes / da les a(l)ççalem. Abançate a ello, es más guʿalardón, / i no biʿedes la habla a ningun muçlim más de téres / diʿas porke si otro hazes pekas mortal/mente. Ayuda a todo muçlim en su neçesidad i kun/pʿle su menester en serbiçiy o de Allāh, taʿālā, /i besitale si adoleçiyere y-akonpañā laljaneza / a todo muçlim ke muriʿere i sey kontʿra kuʿal/kiʿere muçlim ke irá kuʿentʿra la ley i la ddīn / i çunna. El ke te hablará, rrespondele biʿen / o kalla i no digas mal en derecho entʿre partes i kuʿando juçgarás sey juʿez fiʿel. //f. 23r // I no <lo> tomes el lugro i

⁹³ Not in *Concordance*, see Ibn Ruṣḥd, *Fatāwa*, p. 759.

⁹⁴ S. 93: 9-10.

⁹⁵ ? (unclear).

⁹⁶ S. 5: 3.

⁹⁷ Unvocalized.

gu^wardate d-él, i gu^wardate / de la kowdiçi^ya i sey berdadero a tu señor porke / él es tu erederero a falta de erederos. Pagale su /derecho. Onrra a los rrikos i no / menosp^rreçi^yes / a los pobres i gu^wardate de la g^randi^ya i de la / enbidya i de la saña. Sey paçi^yente i no sigas / a hechiços ni^y-a debinos ni^y-a daweros por lalqur^ʾān: / “wa lā yaflihu a(l)-ssāhir haythu attā”⁹⁸, ke no es bi^yen/abenturado el hechizero donde ki^yere k-est. / Solament en Allāh k^reerás i segirás / sus mandami^yentos i no bibas en ti^yerra de in/fi^yeles i donde no manti^yenen juçiçi^ya / ni ent^re malos bezinos, ni te akonpañes kon los / malos muçlimes i^y-ent^re los bu^wenos. Gasta un ter/çi^yo de tu hazi^yenda i çufre las injuri^yas i no te rrepi^yentes d-ello i no ju^weges a kartas ni dados ni a / otra kosa mala, ni te deleytes en lo haram por el //f. 23v// dicho de Allāh, ta^ʿālā, en lalqur^ʾān: “innamā ’l-khamrū / wa’l-maysiru wa’l-anhābu wa ’l-azlāmu ridjzun min ʿamali / i(l)-shshaytāni fā idjtanibūhu laʿallakum tufliḥūna”⁹⁹. / Dize Allāh: “ye mis si^yerbos, el bino i ju^wegos i bayles / i deleytes; todo es en serbiçi^yo y-obras de la / shaytān. Pu^wes salbaos d-ello i seréys bi^yen/abenturados”. No pi^yenses ni mires lo’ajeno. Gu^war/date del engaño i perdona a ki^yen te yerra, i demanda / perdón a ki^yen tu enjuri^yaste, i gu^wardate de la / g^randi^ya. Obedeze a los bu^wenos, api^yadate de los / meçkinos i menores. Ajuntate kon tus igu^wales i no se^yas de dos karas. Pond^rás paç / ent^re las jentes. Enkamina-a los errados¹⁰⁰ i ternás / a Allāh de tu parte. Aḥorrarás katibos kon tus bi^yenes. / Al wérfano i^y-a la biwda akonsejarás. I serás bezino / de Allāh, ta^ʿālā. Ap^rende la ley i çunna i demu^wesala a todo / el mundo ke por ello serás demandado el dī^ya del judiçi^yo. //f. 24r// Estorba a los desobedeçedores de la ley i çunna, / i pone en ello tus fu^werças i ternás a Allāh de tu parte. / Farás berdadera rrepentençi^ya i serás digno de / ser alabado. Aborreçe el mundo kon digna esperança, / i kobrarás por ello la bi^yenabenturança. No uses / las p^rlatikas de los k^risti^yanos i malos pekadores / ni sus t^rajes i serás libre de los pekados, / i konp^rlirás i gu^wardarás los dichos i^y-usos i kos/tunb^res de akel bi^yenabenturado Muḥammad, š^m, / i de los de su a(l)ṣṣiḥaba sobre ki^yen la’alta p^rrobi/dençi^ya di^yo tan g^rande g^raçi^ya i serás de akellos / ke sin tentaçi^yón el dī^ya del judiçi^yo de-trar<ar> án / en laljanna, in shā’ Allāh, ta^ʿālā¹⁰¹. /

Kapítulo ke kosa es el / berdadero a(l)ddīn i komo el onb^re debe salbar su a(l)rrūḥ / K^reyença es p^rrençi^yo de rraçón de donde se / demu^west^ra ell-umano entendimi^yento. El addīn es //f. 24v// p^rrençi^yo de rraçón de

⁹⁸ S. 20: 69.

⁹⁹ S. 5: 90.

¹⁰⁰ MS rredos, a case of metathesis.

¹⁰¹ Unvocalized.

donde p^oroçede ell-umano en/tendimi^yento. El addīn es kosa ke gi^ya al-onbere / a saber ke kosa es Allāh i k^reer en-él, i tener / por fe çⁱerto ke no ay otro bi^yen sino él ke / hizo al-onb^re de una gota de agu^wa komo lo dize el-alqur[']ān: / “*khalāqa 'l-insāna min 'alaqin*”¹⁰², *haleqamos*¹⁰³ a la per^sona de una gota de agu^wa. I dale bida lo ke ki^yere i dale gu^wa/lardón según su obra, komo lo dize alqur[']ān: / “*kullu nafsi bimā kasabat rahinah*”¹⁰⁴, toda per^sona ke / hará bu^wena obra hallarlo 'a para el deskanso. Es / de p^reçeto ke todo onb^re i mujer debe afirmar / todas sus obras firmemente kon Allāh ke / por muchos t^rebajos ke le bengan no se deskon/fi^ye del. K-eso es fe, k^re^yer i fi^yar en / Allāh k-es un solo señor, i tener por fe ke haze komo / ki^yere, ke en este mundo no lo podemos ber ni alkançar / por las obras ke hizo i haze. Lo podemos koneçer si^y-a //f. 25r// ello paramos mi^yent^res i k^re^yer ke rreçuçita la ti^yerra / seka kon ell-awa ke inbi^ya de los çⁱelos i kon-ella / se k^ri^r'an todas las kosas ke ansi lo dize lalqur[']ān: / “*wa anzalnā min-a al-samā' i mā'an mmubārakan li-nuḥiya bihi baldatan maytatan*”¹⁰⁵. Dize Allāh: “*ya deçendimos del çⁱelo agu^wa / bendita, ke rrebibkamos kon ella lugares mu^wertos i los / bolbemos berdes*”. Mira, ermano, el milagro de Ibrehīm, ke / sus jentes eran malas y-a Allāh, ta[']ālā, lo tomo a él / por amigo i^y-a otros muchos por lo ku^wal en ello ay muchos / aktoridades de komo konbi^yene ke en un solo Allāh abe/mos de k^reer y-afirmar sin permutami^yento ninguno / de lo ke fu^we kont^ra él aplikado y-at^ribuido de lo ke / ellos k^reen sin mereçi-mi^yento ni gu^walardón / ninguno, pu^wes konbi^yene ke la fe si^ya fundada i gu^war/neçida i çimentada kon obras i kostunb^res bu^wenas komo lo dize elannabī, 'Im: “*al-[']amalu bi'l-nniyāti*”, la fe //f. 25v// i obra del muçlim a de ser de hecho de boluntad i puramente / obrando en ella. /

Kapítulo / de los artíkulos ke el onb^re a de k^re^yer i te/ner por fe i p^reçeto. Los artíkulos ke el bu^wen / muçlim a de k^reer¹⁰⁶ i obrar i tener por fe son t^reze. /

Lo p^rimero es k^re^yer en su koraçón y-afirmar / kon su boluntad i dezir kon su lenwa ke Allāh es / un solo señor i gobernador de toda kosa, ke no ay / otro señor sino él, ke k^ri^yó el mundo de no nada. No ay / konparaçión ni semejança a él. Ni enjend^oró ni / fu^we enjend^arado i no ay a él kabo ninguno,

¹⁰² S. 96: 2.

¹⁰³ MS haleqamos.

¹⁰⁴ S. 74: 38.

¹⁰⁵ Combination of S. 50: 9 and 50: 11. The phrase “mubārakan-baldah” is a correction of the following words, which are still legible: “mufāan mufārakan (?) llinuhiya bih baldatun”. The corrected words seem to have been written in the same handwriting. The reasons for this are obvious.

¹⁰⁶ MS keer.

porke así / lo dize alqur'ān: / “lam yalid wa-lam yūlad wa lam yakun llahu kufu'an aḥad”¹⁰⁷. En el / kuʷal señor a de kʷreʷer i serbir todos los muçlimes. /

Segundo /artíkulo es ke el muçlim a de tener por pʷreçeto //f. 26r// i mandamiʷento i kʷreʷer i tener por fe ke Allāh, / taʿālā, inbiʷo en fin de todos sus pʷrofetas el es/kojido i biʷenabenturado pʷrofeta Muḥammad, šʷm, / kon akella santa debina ley del-alqur'ān inbiʷado del / dibinal gʷraçiʷa i kon-él rrebokó todas las otras / eskʷrituras i leyes iʷ-endʷreçó kon-él a las / jentes de las dudas i yerros en ke bebrʷan, i los / giʷó al biʷen perdurable por lo kuʷal somos obligados / de segir los pʷreçetos i mandamiʷentos del dicho / pʷrofeta Muḥammad, šʷm, y-a sus konpañas, porke / supʷieron¹⁰⁸ mejor y-entendieron la giʷa y-adīn / berdadero, porke así lo dizen los ʿalimes: / “aʷulī li-tābā”¹⁰⁹ sunnatun nabiyihu wa-aṣḥābihi”¹¹⁰. / Dize ke está obligado todo muçlim kʷreyente segir / i guʷardar los pʷreçetos i mandamiʷentos de nuʷes-/tʷro kawdillo Muḥammad, šʷm, i de los de su a(l)ṣṣiḥāba / i desar todos los otros usos i kostunbʷres //f. 26v// de las otras naçiʷones ke pʷrimero fuʷeron ni ber/nán i por tanto las obras serán testigo para ser / el-addīn puro. I porke Allāh las rreçiba an de ser kon/formes a la ley i çunna porke la fe kʷreçe i menguʷa / sigún las obras serán pokas o muchas. /

El terçero artikul / es kʷreʷer <ke Allāh, taʿālā, inbiʷó en fin de todos/ sus a(l)nnabiʷes akel eçelente i biʷenabenturado / Muḥammad, šʷm¹¹¹> i tener por fe i pʷreçeto ke todas / las kʷriaturas an de morir salbo la potençiʷa de Allāh, ke siʷenpre fuʷe i será bibo mantenible, durable i miseli/kordiʷoso. Es Allāh sabidor de todos los a(l)rrūḥes / ke malaku almawt rreçibe i lo ke Allāh les tiʷene ordenado, / buʷeno i malo, i agʷro i dulçe, pena o deskanso, porke / es señor ke ordena komo él kiʷere en sus ḥale/kados. Ordenó Allāh, taʿālā, el mundo i haze en-él lo ke / kiʷere i lo ke el kiʷese haze, i lo ke no kiʷere no se haze //f. 27r// iʷ-el es sobre toda kosa poderoso. I kʷreʷer en la or/denaçiʷón es debdo i debedado de hablar d-ello sino / ke seʷa muy sabyo i kiso Allāh ordenar i rreçebir la / rrepentençiʷa del pekador si se rrepiʷente d-ello porke / ansī lo dize por lalqur'ān: / “qābili i(l)ttawbi ṣḥadīdi il-ʿāqabi”¹¹². Allāh¹¹³, taʿāla, / rreçibe / la rrepentençiʷa del pekador i tanbiʷén es Allāh fuʷerte de bengança. Más dize al-annabī Muḥammad, šʷm: / “a(l)ttāʷibu

¹⁰⁷ S. 112: 3-4.

¹⁰⁸ MS subiʷeron.

¹⁰⁹ *Alif* after *taʷ*, although with *kasra*.

¹¹⁰ Origin unknown.

¹¹¹ Copy error, namely copied from the second article.

¹¹² S. 40: 3.

¹¹³ MS illāh.

mina '(l)-ddanbi ka-man llādanwa ladin"¹¹⁴. Dize k-el ke / se arrepiyente del pekado libre keda komo ke no ubi/ese kaido en-él. Ya ordenó Allāh, ta'ālā, a ku^walki'yere / per^sona en el mundo dos almalakes, uno a la mano dere/cha, otro a la mano içkerra, ke eskriben sus / obras malas i bu^wenas, porke así lo dize lalqur'ān: / "wa-inna 'alaykum la-ḥaḥiẓīna kirāman kātibīna"¹¹⁵. / Abisa, fijo de Edam, ke sobre tú ay gu^wardas muy / onrradas, ke eskriben bu^west^ras obras //f. 27v// las ku^wales hallaréys en karta públika i k^rlara / el dī'a del judiçī'o por lo ku^wal ninguna kosa sençela [?]./

El ku^warto artikul / es de p^reçeto k^re'er la demanda de la fu^wesa / ke la demandarán los almalakes onrrados komo / abemos dicho: Munkaru wa Nakiru. Akella es la p^ri/mera demanda de la otro mundo k-es el paso de la fu^wesa / al ti'enpo del ku^wal el bu^wen a(l)ddīn i sus obras / le alunb^rarán la fu^wesa o se la enkureçerán i si s-en/poderá por g^raçi'a debina kon sus bu^wenas obras, / i dize ke Allah es su señor, Muḥammad su mesajero i lalqur'ān su g^rā, entonces a(l)rrūh del tal será en-eçe/lençī'a i g^rolori'a i'y-en g^raçi'a del soberano i en alturas hata el dī'a del judiçī'o komo lo dize / en lalqur'ān: / "ina kitābahu al-abrāri lafī illiyīna wa mā adrāka/ mā ḡhiliyūna kitābun mawqūmun yaṣḥhadūha al-muqarrabūna"¹¹⁶. //f. 28r// Dize Allāh, ta'ālā: "las kartas i bu^wenas obras de los / bu^wenos obrantes de mis si'erbos estarán en / alturas, i si supi'eses, ye fijo de Edam, ke kosas / son las alturas, son las kartas kunp^rlidas ke / las p^resentarán los almalakes muy çerkanos / i'y-onrrados". I si será mal rrespondedor i falto / de obras doblarle an la pena i lo pond^rán en las / basuras de jahannama komo lo dize lalqur'ān: / "ina kitābahu al-fudjāri la-fī sidjīnin wwa mā adrāka / mā sidjīnun kitābun marqūmun waylun yawma-idhīn lil-mukadhdhi/bīna"¹¹⁷ /. Dize ke las kartas de los desk^reyentes¹¹⁸ / i mal obrantes serán en basuras i balles de / jahan-nama, i si supi'eses ke kosas son las basu/ras; son balles de jahannam p^resentada para los malos desk^reyentes. O tan gu^way akel dī'a del judiçī'o / para los mentirosos porke akel dī'a serán perpe/tuamente en jahannama, porke son mintirosos i malos // f. 28v// porke ansī lo dize Allāh: "ina al-munāfiqīna la-kādibūna"¹¹⁹. / Sabe ke los desk^reyentes son mintirosos. /

El kinto artikul / k-el muçlim a de tener por fe i k^re'er ke todos / an de morir ku^wantos fu^weron haleqados¹²⁰ en el mundo / "ilā wadji illāhi il-^cazīmi", / sino la kara de Allāh, 'azza wa / jalla, ke no abrá fin komo lo dize

¹¹⁴ Ibn Mādja, *Sunan, zuhd*, "al-tā'ib min al-ḡhanb ka-man lā ḡhanb lahu".

¹¹⁵ S. 82: 10.

¹¹⁶ S. 83: 18-21.

¹¹⁷ S. 83: 7-9.

¹¹⁸ MS k^reyentes.

¹¹⁹ S. 63: 1.

¹²⁰ MS haleqados.

en lalqur'ān: / “Kullu shay'in hālikun ila waḍḥahu lahu al-ḥukm wa-ilayhi tur/djahahu”¹²¹. Sepas ke toda kosa a de ser feneçida / sino la kara de Allāh, çubḥānahu, k-es sin p^{re}ncipiyo / ni sin fin. A él será el judiçio i a él abemos de ser / tornados para dar ku^wenta el dī'a del judiçio / y-esto an de aber¹²² fin todos los haleqados i^y-a / a(l)shshaytānes. A de ser el dī'a de la amargura ku^wando / tokará Içrāfil el ku^werno. Entonçes no abrá / kosa ke tenga bida salbo la potençiya de Allāh ke / si^yenp^{re} fu^we i será i demos-
trarse a su g^rande poder //f. 29r// i todos morrán akel dī'a salbo la potençiya debina / ke a todos los onb^res es maniñesto en es/peçiyal i jeneral la potençiya de Allāh, ta'ālā, i^y-el / post^rero ke morirá será malaku al-mawt, el ku^wal / rreçibe los a(l)rrūhes i se pone ent^re laljanna i jahannama / kubi^yerto kon sus alas y-allí le rreçibe Allāh su a(l)rrūh. I dize: “tan bendito es Allāh, akel ke ordenó la / mu^werte i la bida, ke si yo ubi^yera entendido ke tan / fu^wertes eran los t^ragos de la mu^werte abri^ya / rreçebido los a(l)rrūhes de los muçlimes kon / más pi^yadad, wa 'l-ḥamdu-lillāh, rabb al-ālamīn”¹²³.
/

El seysseno artikul / i p^{re}ncipales rrazones d-él es k^re^yer k-el / p^rimero ke Allāh rreçuçitará para el llamami^yento es / a Içrāfil para tokar el ku^werno. I por el kerimi^yento de Allāh todos los a(l)rrūhes bolberán en / sus ku^werpos. Por la potestad de Allāh, ta'ālā, todos //f. 29v// los ku^werpos an de ser rreçuçitados en ku^werpo i karrne, los bu^wenos al aljanna i los malos / a jahannama. “Hali imtala'at wa-aqūlu hal min maz'īdin”. Ye jahannama, ¿e así estas llena? I dirá jahannam /e a sin dī'a más [?]: “lā amla'ana ḍjahannama miman tabi/^caka min-a a(l)-nnāsi aḍjma'īna”¹²⁴. Dize Allāh, ta'ālā: “Yo te inchiré, / jahannam, de akellos ke me an sido desobidi^yentes/ de las jentes todas”, a^cdhanā Allāhu minhā, defi^yendanos Allāh d-ella. El p^rimero ke será rrebikado / será el bi^yenabenturado Muḥammad, š^m. Entonçes / la ti^yerra será apurada i t^rokada por la g^raçiya de Allāh, / ta'ālā. Será ençendido fu^wego en los p^{re}ncipi^yos / i kabos de la ti^yerra ke konp^rende todas las / ti^yerras del mundo donde Allāh hará más kanpo de la / ti^yerra i más llano ke no era de antes i^y-allí darán / ku^wento las jentes. Akel dī'a no ap^rrobechará / hijos ni algos sino akel ke terrná i amarará a Allāh, ta'ālā, //f. 30r// kon koraçón firme komo lo dize lalqur'ān: “Yawma lā yanfa'u mālun wwa lā banūna illa man-a atā Allāha / bi'l-qalbin salimin”¹²⁵, el dī'a del ku^wento

¹²¹ S. 28: 88. In the right-hand margin is written “ḍja'ūna”, obviously correcting “ḍjahahu”.

¹²² Between *alif* and *bā'* of *aber* an unvocalized *fā'* or *qāf* is written without a diacritical mark.

¹²³ Unvocalized.

¹²⁴ S. 38: 85. “al-nās” in the citation of this *ḍya* is another indication that the author quoted by heart. In the Qur'ānic context the passage in question is a dialogue between Allāh and Iblīs.

¹²⁵ S 26: 88-89.

no ap^orobechará / a ninguno fijos ni rrikezas, sino akel ke abrá o <bra> /brado obras firmes i de koraçón. Akel dī'a / abrá a la per^osona fechos muy t^orabajosos por el / dicho del alqur'ān onrrado:/ "li-kulli imri'in mminhum yawma'idhin <'amr¹²⁶> sh'anū yaghñīhi"¹²⁷. / Kada per^osona akel dī'a estará kon hecho muy / g^orande.

El seteno artikul / del dī'a del judiçī'o es ke Allāh hará llegar a todas / las jentes del mundo en-un lugar, porke el poder / de Allāh, ta'ālā, i su sentençī'a será en p^oresençī'a / de todos pareçida, komo lo dize lalqur'ān onrrado g^orande:/ blank line / "yawm yađjima'ukum li-yawmi il-đjam'i dhalika yawmu al-taghābūna"¹²⁸. / El dī'a ke Allāh os ajuntará el dī'a ke todas//f. 30v// las jentes serán ajuntadas para el ku^oento, / akel dī'a será dī'a de desengaños i serán / ajuntados en lugar ancho ke será a medyodī'a / para juzgar a kada pu^oeblo kon su p^orofeta / y-a kada uno partikularmente en p^oresençī'a / de todos i berán los bu^oenos la kara de Allah akel / dī'a. ¿Donde debe estar el-onb^ore akel dī'a de judiçī'o? Será dada a kada uno su karta de lo ke abrá / obrado de bi^oen o de mal, a los bu^oenos en su mano derecha / y-a los malos kon su mano la ičkerra, i por dibersos / i feos lugares ke ansī lo dize-lalqur'ān: / blank line / "wa-ammā man-u ātiya kitābahu bi-yaminihi fa-sawfa yuḥasabu / ḥisāban yyasiran wa-amma manu ātiya kitābahu bi-ḥimalihi/ aw min wara'a zaḥrihi fa-sawfa yad'ū ṭhubūran / yaṣalā sa'ī-ran"¹²⁹. Dize la nobleza de Allāh, ta'ālā, ye mis / si^overbos, si se os dará bu^oesa karta kon bu^oesa //f. 31r// mano la derecha señal es ke bu^oest^oro ku^oento será / ku^oento lijero. Si en kaso se os dará bu^oesa karta / kon bu^oesa mano la ičkerra, o por det^orás de bu^oesas / espaldas es señal de desobidençī'a i por ello ke/mareys en el bal de ça^oir. Este dī'a de judiçī'o será / muy largo i doloroso i de g^orandes / jimidos i t^oribu/laçī'ones ke no abrī'an kesido las jentes akel dī'a / aber naçido.

El ocheno artikulo / es tener por çī'erto ke la rrogarī'a del- annabī Muḥammad, š^om, / akel dī'a será oida i^o-obedeçida. Esto será ku^oando las / jentes serán en <en> g^orandes pasi'ones i t^ori/bulaçī'ones e en-este dī'a para dar ku^oento mirando al / çī'elo más ke al mundo, por donde akel dī'a las jentes / rru^oegarán a los a(l)nnabīes ke los despachen i les / tomen ku^oento a kada uno d-ellos de los ku^oales a(l)nnabīes. / Kada uno dará su eskusa sino el bi^oenabenturado a(l)nnabī / Muḥammad, š^om, k-él rru^oegarā a Allāh, ta'ālā, i será oida su rrogarī'a. //f. 31v// Esta rrogarī'a p^orimera será para ke Allāh les / ab^orebi'e su ku^oento. La segunda bez ke rrogará, / š^om, es ke

¹²⁶ Unvocalized, a clear copy error.

¹²⁷ S. 80: 37.

¹²⁸ S. 64: 9.

¹²⁹ S. 84: 7-12.

Allāh, ta^cālā, saka a los de su / alumma de jahannam ad-akellos ke k^re^ʔeron / kon la unidad por la ku^wal rrogar^ʔa irán todos / al-aljanna.

El nobeno artikulo / es k^reer el muçlim ke a de dar ku^wento / a Allāh de sus obras. P^reçeto es k^re^ʔer / ke el muçlim a de dar ku^wento ada Allāh de lo ke / abrá obrado en-el mundo i todos serán delante la / potençⁱʔa dibina ajuntados komo lo dize lalqur^ʔān: / “fa-idhā hum djamī^un lladaynā muḥḍarū-na”¹³⁰. / Pu^wes en ‘kun-fa-ʔakun’ veréys el dⁱʔa del judiçⁱʔo / todas las jentes delante la potençⁱʔa de Allāh, ta^cālā. / Akel dⁱʔa serán todos p^resentes: “fa-l-yawma lā tuzlamu nafsun ṣḥay^ʔan wwa-lā tudjzawna / illā mā kuntum ta^cmalūna”¹³¹. Pu^wes akel dⁱʔa no //f. 32r// será kondonado ninguna per^sona ni tanpoko será dado / gu^walardón sino por las obras ke abrá hecho i de / los p^rimeros ke darán ku^wenta serán los de/l-alumma del-annabī Muḥammad, ṣ^m, por rraçón ke serán / testigos sobre las otras jentes de ki^ʔen / lalqur^ʔān faze minçⁱʔūn i / testimoni^ʔo de ki^ʔen / fu^weron i ke obraron. Allí demos- t^rará Allāh su g^ran/de poder i justičⁱʔa a las fi^ʔeras alimañas unas / ku^went^ra otras para ke mayor temor ayan los rraçⁱʔonales i dese^ʔarán los malos akel dⁱʔa aber / sido ti^ʔerra komo lo dize lalqur^ʔān: / “wa-yaqūlu al-kāfiru yā laytanī kuntu turāban”¹³². / Dirá el desk^reyente el dⁱʔa del judiçⁱʔo: “o tan gu^way / de mí ubi^ʔera sido ti^ʔerra i no berme en tanto peligro”. A/kel dⁱʔa se kunpⁱlirá justičⁱʔa a kada uno i se to/mará bengança d-él ke ubi^ʔere hecho enjuri^ʔas a / su p^rosimo. Hata ke larres mucha [?] i la korno da se //f. 32v// tomarán bengança la una a la otra, el ku^wal ku^wento / no durará de tomar en rrespeto de lo ke agu^warda/ron komo u- momento. /

El dezeno artikul / es k^re^ʔer todo muçlim ke akel dⁱʔa pesarán / las alhaçanas komo abemos dicho at^rás: / “wa al-waznu yawma-idhīn il-ḥaqqun”¹³³, ke el peso el dⁱʔa / del judiçⁱʔo dirá la berdad. I si pesarán más las bu^wenas obras ke las malas salbarse an / i si no, serán kondonados para jahannam i si serán / igu^wales serán ent^re laljanna i jahannam donde / akello les será sastifaçⁱʔón del bi^ʔen ke / hizi^ʔeron, ni irán al-aljanna ni al fu^wego. Enton/çes le harán a saber a(l)nnabī Muḥammad, ṣ^m, ke ay / de sus konpañas ke están en pena y-en / la ora se pone en el segundo rru^wego ada Allāh, ta^cālā, / i será obedechida su rrogar^ʔa i los llebarán al-aljanna //f. 33r// por la pi^ʔadat de Allāh, ta^cālā, ke por la pi^ʔadat i rrogar^ʔa / de Muḥammad, ṣ^m, rreçibi^ʔó Allāh su rrepentençⁱʔa. /

El onzeno artikul / k-el muçlim a de k^re^ʔer ke an de pasar por el/ pu^wen de la ṣṣirāṭ el dⁱʔa del judiçⁱʔo. I pasa/rán los bu^wenos i los malos kada uno

¹³⁰ S. 36: 53.

¹³¹ S. 36: 54.

¹³² S. 78: 40.

¹³³ S 7: 8.

según sus / obras. Y-este pu^wente es tan alto i tan largo / ke en ti^yenpo d-este siglo no lo pasari^yán por la g^aran/de falta de obras ke las jentes¹³⁴ ti^yenen y-el/ ke kaerá por sus pekados kayrá en jahannam / adonde kayrán los desk^ereyentes i b^alas/femadores i onb^eres de poka fe i de poka a(l)şşadaqa / i mengu^wadores de obras i^y-en çⁱertos lugares / serán tentados por kada uno de los mandami^yen/tos del-addīn adonde falleçi^yeron serán ka/idos en jahan-nam “a^ctā Allah minhā bā”¹³⁵./

Artikulo dozeno // f. 33v // k^ereer el muçlim ke ay aljanna para los bu^wenos i bi^yenabenturados k^ereyentes / mantenedores del-addīn i porke konpⁱli^yeron / kon-el bi^yenabenturado a(l)nnabī Muḥammad, ş^em, / y-akella perpetua folgança an de ser en de/leytes çelestiri^yales i de una edad her/mosos i más rrelunb^arantes k-el sol, donde el / bi^yenabenturado Muḥammad, ş^em, hará el terçer / rru^wego i sakará de lo baso de jahannam ad-ake/llos de su alumma ke k^ere^yeron kon la unidad / i bañarlos-an en la balsa del dicho a(l)nnabī Muḥammad, ş^em, / adonde se bolberán más k^alaros k-el sol i po/nerlos-an en laljanna en los sobredichos lu/gares donde serán en la g^olori^ya perpetua/mente komo lo dize en lalqur[’]ān / al-^cazizu: “inna al-abrāra la-fī na^cīmin wwa inna al-fudjdjā la-fī / djahīmi yaşlawnahā yawma a(l)dīni wa mā hum / ^canhā bi-ghā’ibīna”¹³⁶. // **f 34r** // Dize ke las konpañas del-alumma de Muḥammad, ş^em, / el dī’a del judiçi^yo estarán en la g^olori^ya i deley/tes g^arandes i las konpañas malas de des/k^ereyentes estarán en la bal del-aljahim, bal / muy fu^werte en jahannam. Allí serán kemándose / asta la fin del mundo i^y-ellos d-él jamás serán / absentados. Todo esto hará el ku^werpo k-es / ti^yerra, pu^wes ¿ké hará elarrūh de ber en onrra / i g^olori^yas çelesti^yales adonde berán la nobleza de / Allāh perpetuamente? /

Artikulo treçeno es p^reçeto k^ere^yer / el muçlim ke ay jahannam para los malos i soberbi^yos g^arandi^yosos k^erebantadores del-addīn / i serán malditos de Allāh, ta^cālā, ke les bali^yera más / no aber naçido ni ensend^arado <se> [?], porke jahannam / es lugar para ellos pork-es fu^wego ke kema sin / mesura i sin ku^wento. Es fri^yo y-elado i todo lo ke ay //f. 34v// en-él es postema infernal de sirpi^yentes i gusanos i de fi^yeras ke mu^werden / i dan g^arandes i k^uru^weles pasi^yones ado/nde son los a(l)shshaytānes atormentadores / de los malos kon toda pena ke se pu^wede dar de sin / fin, adonde keman los unos i naçen los / otros i por tanto konbi^yene ke el fijo de Edam aborreçka el mundo i rrefir-marse kon Allāh, / ta^cālā, i^y-obrar para ell-otro mundo, k-es kasa per/petua i durable.

¹³⁴ MS jenten.

¹³⁵ Unvocalized.

¹³⁶ S. 82: 13-16.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AGS = Archivo General de Simancas.
 AHDE = Anuario de Historia del Derecho español.
 A.H.N. = Archivo Histórico Nacional.
 And. = Al-Andalus.
 AT = Kontzi, R.: *Aljamiadotexte*. Wiesbaden 1974. 2 vols.
 B.M. = British Museum.
 B.N. = Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid) and Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris).
 B.P. = Biblioteca Pública.
 BRAH = Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia.
 B.U. = Biblioteca Universitaria.
 CLEAM = Colección de literatura española aljamiado-morisca. Madrid 1970
 —>.
 Concordance = *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, par Wensinck, A.J., Mensingh, J.P., et Brugman, J., Leiden 1936 —>.
 DHE = *Diccionario de Historia de España*, dirigido por Germán Bleiberg. Madrid 1968².
 DHEE = *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España*, dirigido por Vaquero, Q.A., Martínez, T.M., y Vives Gatell, J., Madrid 1972. 4 vols.
 DME = Alonso, M.: *Diccionario medieval español*. Salamanca 1986. 2 vols.
 EI = *Enzyklopaedie des Islam. Geographisches, ethnographisches und biographisches Wörterbuch der Muhammedanische Völker*.
 EI² = *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New edition prepared by a number of leading orientalists. Leiden 1960 —>.
 GAL = Brockelmann, C.: *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*. Zweite den Supplementbänden angepasste Auflage. Leiden 1943-49. 2 vols.
 GAL S = Brockelmann, C.: *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*. Supplementbände. Leiden 1937-42. 2 vols.
 G.R. = Guillén Robles, F.R.: *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*. Madrid 1889.
 Índice: See Saa.
 J = MS of the collection which is preserved in the 'Instituto de Filología', Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Madrid). This collection is described in: Ribera, J. and Asín, M.: *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*. Madrid 1912.
 JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
 JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
 Lit. Cult. = Harvey, L.P.: *The Literary Culture of The Moriscos 1492-1609*.

A Study based on the extant Manuscripts in Arabic and Aljamía. D. Phil. Dissertation. Oxford 1958.

LM = *Lexikon des Mittelalters*.

MHE = *Memorial Histórico Español*.

Mi'yār = Al-Waṣṣarīsī, Aḥmad b. Yahyā: *Al-Mi'yār al-mu'rib wa 'l-djāmi' al-mughrib 'an fatāwā ahl Ifrīqiya wa 'l-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*. Rabat 1401/1981. 12 Vols.

Morel Fatio = Morel Fatio, A.: *Catalogue des manuscrits espagnols et des manuscrits portugais. Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des Manuscrits*. Paris 1892.

M y P = Mercedes y Privilegios.

NRFH = Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica.

RA = Ribera J. and Asín, M.: *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*. Madrid 1912.

R.A.H. = Real Academia de la Historia.

RGS = Registro general del Sello.

RHCEE = *Repertorio de Historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España*. Salamanca 1967-1979. 7 vols.

Saa = Saavedra y Moragas, E.: Discurso que el Ecsmo. Sr. D. Eduardo Saavedra leyó en Junta Pública de la Real Academia Española, el día 29 de diciembre de 1878, al tomar posesión de su plaza de Académico de número, in: *Memorias de la Real Academia Española*, VI, Madrid 1889, apendice I: Índice general de la literatura aljamiada.

ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) Unpublished sources

(a) Archives

Simancas. Archivo General de Simancas

Registro General del Sello
Mercedes y Privilegios
Estado

Madrid. Archivo Histórico Nacional

Osuna
Inquisición

Valladolid

Archivo de la Catedral

(b) Codices

Arabic

Algiers

National Library

1557 Mūhammad al-Qaysī, *Kitāb miftāḥ al-dīn wa-'l-mudjādala bayna 'l-naṣārā wa-'l-muslimīn min qawl al-anbiyā' wa-'l-mursaltīn wa-'l-ʿulamā' al-rāshidīn alladhīn qara'ū 'l-anādīl*.

Leiden. Research Institute for the History of Muslim-Christian Relations

Andrād al-Ishbīlī, *Ta'liḥ ft ṭabʿat al-khayl*.

Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional

4950 Al-Haffār, *farwās*.

5015 Ibn al-Fakḥkhār al-Djudhāmī, commentary on Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, *Risāla*.

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale

425 Ibn Tūmart, Arabic-Spanish version of the *Murshida*.

Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

AF 58 Anonymous, *Ta'yīd al-milla*.

Spanish and Aljamiado

Bologna. Biblioteca Universitaria

565 *Maḍmū'a* of religious texts.

Cambridge. University Library

Dd 9. 49 El Mancebo de Arévalo and Baray de Rremindjo, *Breve Compendio de la santa ley i sunna*.

Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

II.IV-701(1) Aljamiado *tafṣīr*.

Leiden, University Library

PBL 2733 *Leyes de Moros*.

Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional

1585 19th-century copy of the *Breviario Sunni*.

4944 *Maḍmū'a* of polemical texts.

2076 *Breviario Sunni*.

5223 *Duʿāʾ* taken from the *Breviario Sunni*.

5252 Yça Gidelli (?), *Tratado y Declaración y Guía del addm del-alislām*.

5301 *Breviario Sunni*, fragment.

5305 Prophecy of 'Fray Juan de Rokasia'.

5319 Anonymous translation of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, *Risāla*.

5378 Religious miscellanea.

9074 Muhammad Alguazir, *Apología contra los artículos de la ley cristiana*.

9653 Anonymous religious treatise.

Madrid. Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia

S 3 *Breviario Sunni*.

T 12 *Poema de Yūsuf*, al-Ghāzī, *Sharḥ bi-ḥaqq alfāz mizān al-ʿamal*.

V 7 Religious polemics (fragment).

V 12 *Khutbas*.

V 15 *Khutbas*.

Madrid. Instituto de Filología (Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas)

J 1 Yça Gidelli, *Breviario Sunni*.

J 60 Yça Gidelli, *Breviario Sunni* and religious miscellanea.

Oxford. Wadham College

A 18-15 Muḥammad Alguazir, *Apología contra los artículos de la ley cristiana*.

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale

Esp. 93 Inquisition documents.

Esp. 204 Gonçalo Morante de la Ventura, religious polemic with Hedar Rrogelli.

Esp. 397 Mohanmad Devera, religious treatise.

Ar. 1163 Religious miscellanea.

Toledo. Biblioteca Pública

232 Translation of Ibn al-Djallāb, *Kitāb al-tafr̥ fi'l-fiqh*.

235 Yça Gidelli (?), translation of the Qur'ān with glosses.

Latin

Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Lat. 2923

Segovia. Archivo catedralicio

B 319 Garcí Ruiz, *Anacephalensis gestorum civitatis segoviensis*.

B 330 Diego de Colmenares, *Aparato de la Historia de Segovia*.

Printed sources

Incunables

Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional

Inc. 635. Juan López de Salamanca, *Libro de los evangelios del adviento fasta la dominica in passione*, moralizados por el reverendo maestro frey iuan lopez. Los quales romanço por ruego dela muy manifica virtuosa señora la duquesa de Arevalo su señora. Zamora 1490.

Other printed sources

Arabic

Albarracín Navarro, J., y Martínez Ruiz, J: *Medicina, Farmacopea y Magia en el Misceláneo de Salomón*. Granada 1987.

Bābā, Aḥmad: *Nayl al-ibtihādī bi tairtz al-dibādī*, in margine Ibn Farḥūn, *Kitāb al-dibādī al-mudḥahhab fī ma'rifat a'yān al-madḥhab*. Beirut s.a.

Al-Ḡhazālī, Abū Hāmid: *Ildjām al-°awāmm °an °ilm al-kalām*. Cairo 1351 / 1932.

—: *Ihyā' °ulūm al-dīn*. Cairo 1939/1358. 4 vols.

- Al-Ghubrīnī, Abū 'l-°Abbās Aḥmad: °*Unwān al-dirāya ft-man °urifa min al-°ulamā' fi 'l-mi'a al-sābiya bi-Biḍḍāya* (°Ādil Nūyhid, ed.). Beirut 1969.
- Ibn al-Abbār: *Al-takmila li-kitāb al-šila*. Madrid 1886-89. 2 vols.
- Ibn °Abdūn, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad: "Un document sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers, à Seville au début du XIIe siècle: le traité d'ibn °Abdun" (E. Lévi-Provençal, ed.), in: *Journal Asiatique*, 224 (1934), pp. 177-299.
- : E. Lévi-Provençal: *Séville Musulmane au début du XIIe siècle*. Le traité d'Ibn °Abdun sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers. Trad. avec une introd. et des notes. Paris 1947.
- Ibn Abī Zar°: *Al-Anfs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirtās ft akhbār mulūk al-Maghrib wa ta'rif al-madīnat Fās*. Rabat 1972.
- : *Rawḍ al-Qirtas*. Traducido y anotado por Ambrosio Huici Miranda. Valencia 1964². 2 vols.
- Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī: *La Risāla ou épître sur les éléments du dogme et de la loi de l'Islām selon le rite Mālikite*. Texte arabe et traduction française avec un avant-propos, des notes et trois index par L. Bercher. Algiers 1949.
- Ibn al-Djawzī: *Ibn al-Jawzī's kitāb al-quṣṣās wa 'l-mudhakkirāt*. Including a Critical Edition, Annotated Translation and Introduction by M.L. Schwartz (= Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'institut de lettres orientales de Beyrouth, série 1: pensée arabe et musulman, vol. XLVII). Beirut 1986.
- Ibn Farḥūn: *Kitāb al-dibādī al-mudḥahhab ft ma'rifat a'yān °ulamā' al-madḥhab*. Beirut s.a.
- Ibn Hudhayl, °Alī b. °Abd al-Raḥmān: *Ḥilyat al-fursān wa-šhi'ār al-sudjān*. La parure des cavaliers et l'insigne des preux (L. Mercier, translation and edition). Paris 1922-24. 2 vols.
- Ibn Hudhayl, °Alī b. °Abd al-Raḥmān: *L'Ornement des Ames et la devise des habitants d'el-Andalus. Traité de guerre sainte islamique*. Paris 1936-39. 2 vols. (I Texte arabe, II Traduction française par L. Mercier).
- Ibn Ḥazm: *Djamharat ansāb al-°arab* (E. Lévi-Provençal, ed.). Cairo 1948.
- Ibn Ishāq, Khalīl: *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-fiqh*. Paris 1318/1900.
- : Abrégé de la loi musulmane selon le rite de l'imām Mālek. Traduction nouvelle par G.H. Bousquet. Algiers 1956-1962. 4 vols.
- Ibn Khaldūn, °Abd al-Raḥmān: *Kitāb al-°ibar wa diwān al-mubtadā' wa 'l-khabar ft ayyām al-°arab wa 'l-°adjam wa 'l-barbar*. (Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties Musulmanes de l'Afrique Septentrionale. Texte Arabe collationné sur plusieurs mss. par M. le Baron de Slane). Algiers 1847-51. 2 vols.
- Ibn Khaldūn, °Abd al-Raḥmān: *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique Septentrionale*. Trad. de l'Arabe par M. le Baron De Slane. Algiers 1852-56. 4 Ts in 2 vols.

- : Ibn Khaldūn: *The Muqaddimah. An introduction to history*. Translated from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal. Princeton 1967². 2 vols.
- Ibn al-Kardabūs: *Kitāb al-iktifā' fī akhbār al-khulafā'* (M. al-°Abbādī, ed.), in: *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, XIII, (1965-6), pp. 41-126.
- Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Lisān al-Dīn: *Al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāta*. (M.A.°Inān, ed.). Cairo ca. 1975-7. 4 vols.
- Ibn Maryam, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad: *Al-bustān fī dhikr al-awliyā' wa'l-°ulamā' bi-Tilimsān* (M. b. Abī Ṣhanab, ed.). Algiers 1326/1908.
- Ibn al-Qādī, Aḥmad: *Djadhwat al-iqtibās fī dhikr man ḥalla min a°lām madīnat Fās*. Rabat 1973-4. 2 vols.
- Ibn Ruṣḥd, Abū 'l-Walīd: "Nawāzil Ibn Ruṣḥd", published by I. °Abbās in: *Al-Abḥāth*, 22 (1969), pp. 3-63.
- : *Fatāwā* (M. al-Talīlī, ed.). Beirut 1987. 3 vols.
- Ibn Wāṣil, Djamāl al-dīn Muḥammad: *Mufarriḍ al-kurūb fī akhbār bant Ayyūb*. Beirut (?) 1972. 4 vols.
- Al-Ḥaḍjarī, Aḥmad b. Qāsim: *Nāṣir al-dīn °alā 'l-qawm al-kāfirin* (M. Razūq, ed.). Casablanca 1987/1407.
- Al-Hulal al-mawṣhiyya fī dhikr al-akhbār al-Marrākushīyya* (S. Allouche, ed.) Rabāt 1936.
- : A. Huici Miranda: *Al-Hulal al-mawṣhiyya*. Tetuan 1952 (= Colección de crónicas de la reconquista, vol. 1).
- Al-Khushanī, Muḥammad: *Ta'rīkh quḍāt Qurṭuba*. Cairo (?) 1966.
- : *Historia de los jueces de Córdoba* (tr. J. Ribera). reprint Granada 1985.
- Lévi-Provençal, E.: *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*. Fragments manuscrits du 'Legajo' 1919 du fonds arabe de l'Escorial. Publiés et traduits avec une introduction et des notes par -. Paris 1928.
- Al-Marrākushī, Abū Muḥammad °Abd al-Wāhid: *Al-Mu°dḍib fī talkhṭs akhbār al-Maghrib*. Cairo 1963/1383³.
- : *Kitāb al-Mu°dḍib fī talkhṭs akhbār al-Maghrib* (Lo admirable en el resumen de las noticias del Magrib (traducción A. Huici Miranda). Tetuan 1955.
- Al-Maqqarī al-Tilimsānī, Ṣhīḥāb al-dīn Abū 'l-°Abbās: *Azhār al-riyād fī akhbār °Iyād* (M. al-Sakkā' e.a., eds.) Cairo 1358/1939-1361/1942. 3 vols.
- : *Nafḥ al-tṭb min-ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭṭb* (I. °Abbās, ed.) Beirut 1988/1408. 8 vols.
- Al-Ṣhāfīcī: *Al-Risāla* (A.M. Ṣhākir, ed.). Cairo 1359.
- : see: M. Khadduri.
- Al-Ṣhāṭibī: *Fatāwā al-imām al-Ṣhāṭibī* (M. Abū 'l-Adjfan, ed.). Tunis 1985/14062.
- Al-Sulamī, Yūsuf b. Yahyā b. °Alī: *Iqd al-durar fī akhbār al-muntaẓar* (M.

- al-Būrīnī, ed.). *Al-Zarqā'* 1405/1985.
- Al-Suyūfī, *Djalāl al-dīn: Al-tahadduḥ bi nīḥmat Allāh*. (E.M. Sartain, ed.). Cambridge 1975 (= University of Cambridge Oriental Studies published for the Faculty of Oriental Studies, 24).
- : *Ḥuṣn al-muḥādara ft ta'rikh Miṣr wa 'l-Qāhira* (M. Ibrāhīm, ed.). Cairo 1387/1967-8. 2 vols.
- Al-Wazzānī al-Fāsī, Abū 'Īsā: *al-Mi'yār al-djadt al-mu'rib 'an fatāwā al-muta'akhhirtn min 'ulamā' al-Maghrib*. Fes 1328/1910. 11 vols.
- Al-Wanṣharīsī: *al-Wafayāt*, in: Ḥadjidī, M. (ed.), *Alf sana min al-wafayāt*. Rabat 1396/1976.

Spanish

- Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena* (J. M^a. Azáceta, ed.). Madrid 1966. 3 vols.
- Colmenares, D. de: *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia y compendio de las historias de Castilla. Vida y escritos de escritores segovianos*. Segovia 1975 [1974]. 3 vols.
- Enríquez del Castillo, D., "Crónica del Rey Enrique el Cuarto", in: *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla desde Alfonso el Sabio, hasta los Católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*, T. III, Madrid 1878.
- De iure hispano-hebraico. Las taqqanot de Valladolid de 1432. Un estatuto comunal renovador*. Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae, V. (Y. Moreno Koch, ed.). Salamanca 1987.
- Fernández y Fernández, M.J.: *Libro de los castigos (Ms. aljamiado n° 8 de la Junta)*. Edición, introducción, estudio, glosario y notas. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Universidad de Oviedo s.a. 3 vols.
- Gidelli, Yça, "Suma de los mandamientos y devedamientos de la santa ley y sunna" (= *Breviario Sunni*) (P. de Gayangos, ed.) in: *MHE*, V (1853), pp. 247-417.
- Hegyi, O.: *Cinco leyendas y otros relatos moriscos (MS. 4953 de la Bibl. Nac. Madrid)*. Edición, estudio y materiales por -. Madrid 1981 (= CLEAM 4).
- Leyes de moros* (P. de Gayangos, ed.), in: *MHE*, V (1853), pp. 11-246.
- Mancebo de Arévalo, el: *Sumario de la relación y ejercicio espiritual sacado y declarado por - en nuestra lengua castellana*. Tesis doctoral por G. Fonseca Antuña. s.a. s.d [Oviedo 1987].
- : *La 'tafsira' del Mancebo de Arévalo*. Transcripción y estudio del texto por M^a T. Narváez Córdova. Disertación Departamento de Estudios Hispánicos. Universidad de Puerto Rico 1988.
- El Manuscrito misceláneo 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París*. Edición, Estudio y Glosario por M. Sánchez Alvarez. Madrid 1982 (= CLEAM 5).
- Millares Carlo, A.: *Índice y extractos de los libros de cédulas y provisiones*

del Archivo Municipal de Madrid (siglos XV-XVI). Madrid 1932.

Palencia, A. de: *Crónica de Enrique IV* (A. Paz y Melia, ed.). Madrid 1973-1975. 3 vols. (= Biblioteca de Autores españoles 257, 258, 267).

Las coplas de Puey Monçón, see: Pano y Ruata, M. de.

Rabadan, Muḥammad, "Discurso de la Luz". Published by H.E.J. Stanley in: *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, New Series, III (1868), pp. 81-104; 379-413; IV (1870), pp. 140-177; V (1871), pp. 119-140; 303-337; VI (1873), pp. 165-212.

Sachs, G. (ed.): *El Libro de los caballos, tratado de albeitería del siglo XIII*. Madrid 1932 (= *Revista de Filología Española*, anejo 23).

Sáez, E. (ed.): *Colección diplomática de Sepúlveda*, I, (1076-1454). Segovia 1956.

Catalan

Barceló, C. (ed.): *Un tratado catalán medieval de derecho islámico: el llibre de la çuna e xara dels moros*. Introducción, edición, índices y glosarios por —. Cordoba 1989.

Lull, Ramon, "Libre del Gentil e los tres savis" in: *Obres essencials* (S. Garcías Palou, ed.), vol. I, Barcelona 1957, pp. 1049-1142.

Latin

Ahmet ben-Abdalla Mohamedani Epistola theologica de articulis qvibusdam fidei ad serenissimos Auriacum et Portugalliae Principes (Z. Grapius, ed.). Rostock 1705.

Hernández Montes, B.: *Biblioteca de Juan de Segovia*. Edición y comentario de su escritura de donación. Madrid 1984.

Isidorus Hispalensis: S. Isidori Etymologiarum, in: *Sancti Isidori, hispalensi episcopi, Opera Omnia*. Tomus Tertius (J.P.Migne, ed.). Paris 1878 [=Patrologiae cursus completus, seu bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica, omnium ss. patrum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum, T. LXXXII].

Al-Qur'ān: Machumetis saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrinae, ipseque alcoran. Basel 1543.

H.A. Sanders (ed.): *Beati in Apocalypsin Libri Duodecim*. Rome 1930.

Thomas à Kempis: *De imitatione Christi*. Libri Quatuor. Edizione critica a cura di Tiburzio Lupo. Città del Vaticano 1982.

Secondary Literature

- Abun Nasr, J.M.: *A History of the Maghrib*. Cambridge 1975².
- Ajo y Sainz de Zúñiga, G.: *Historia de las universidades hispánicas. Orígenes y desarrollo desde su aparición a nuestros días*. I Medioevo y renacimiento universitario. Madrid 1957.
- Alonso-Cortés, M^a de las Nieves: *Catálogo de Manuscritos de la Biblioteca de Santa Cruz*. Valladolid 1976.
- D'Alverny, M.Th., "Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen Age" in: *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire au Moyen Age*, XVI, vingt-deuxième et vingt-troisième années, (1947-48), pp. 69-131.
- D'Alverny, M.Th., and Vajda, G., "Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tumart", in: *And.* XVI (1951), pp. 99-140, 259-307; XVII (1952), pp. 1-56.
- Amador de los Ríos, J.: *Historia crítica de la literatura española*. Madrid 1861-1865. 7 vols.
- Antist, V. I.: *La vida, y historia del apostolico predicador sant Vincente Valenciano, de la orden de sancto Domingo*. Valencia 1575.
- Antonio, N.: *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus, sive Hispani scriptores qui ab octaviani augusti aevo ad annum Christi MD. floruerunt*. Madrid 1788. 2 vols.
- Arié, R.: *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232-1492)*. Paris 1973.
- : *España Musulmana (siglos VIII-XV)*. Barcelona 1982 (= Historia de España, dirigida por M. Tuñón de Lara, III).
- Asenjo González, M.: *Segovia. La ciudad y su tierra a fines del medioevo*. Segovia 1986.
- Asín Palacios, M., "Un tratado morisco contra los judíos", in *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg*, Paris 1909, pp. 343-66.
- : "La polémica anticristiana de Mohámed el Caisi", in: *Revue Hispanique*, XXI, no. 59 (1909), pp. 339-361.
- Baer, F.: *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*. Berlin 1929-1936. 2 vols.
- Baer, Y.: *Historia de los Judíos en la España cristiana*. Madrid 1981. 2 vols.
- Ballesteros y Beretta, E.: *Sevilla en el siglo XIII*. Madrid 1913.
- Barceló Torres, M^a. del C.: *Minorías islámicas en el país valenciano. Historia y dialecto*. Valencia 1984.
- Bataillon, M., "Les nouveaux chrétiens de Ségovie en 1510", in *Bulletin Hispanique*, LVII (1956), pp. 207-231.

- Bauer Landauer, I.: *Catálogo de Cartas y Documentos de mi archivo*. Madrid 1931.
- Beck, H.L.: *L'image d'Idrīs II, ses descendants de Fās et la politique sharrfienne des sultans maritimes (656-869/1248-1465)*. Leiden 1989 (= Asfār. Publications of the Research Institute for the History of Muslim-Christian Relations, Leiden University, vol. 3).
- Beer, R.: *Die Handschriftenschatze Spaniens*. Wien 1894.
- Ben Jemia, M.N., "Almursida para kada mañana. Comentario de un fragmento del manuscrito aljamiado no. 425 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Paris", in: *Métiers, vie religieuse et problématiques d'histoire morisque*. Actes du IV Symposium International d'Etudes Morisques (A. Temimi, ed.). Zaghouan 1990, pp. 17-24.
- Bennassar, B, and Bennassar, L.: *Les Chrétiens d'Allah. L'histoire extraordinaire des renégats. XVI^e-XVII^e siècles*. Paris 1989.
- Bernabé Pons, L.F.: *El cántico islámico del morisco hispanotunecino Taybili*. Saragossa 1988.
- Bignami-Odier, J.: *Études sur Jean de Roquetaillade (Johannes de Rupescissa)*. Paris 1952.
- Bofarull y Sanz, F.: *Heraldic Watermarks*. Hilversum 1956.
- Boggs, R.S., Kasten, L., Keniston, H., Richardson, H.B.: *Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish*. (Unpublished) Chapel Hill 1946.
- Bonachia Hernando, J.A., and Pardo Martínez, J.A.: *Catalogo documental del Archivo municipal de Burgos: sección histórica (931-1515)*. Junta de Castilla y León s.l. 1983. 2 vols. (1: 931-1474, 2: 1475-1515).
- Boronat y Barrachina, P.: *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión*. Valencia 1901. 2 vols.
- Bosch Vilá, J.: *Historia de Marruecos. Los Almorávides*. Tetuan 1956.
- Boswell, J.: *The Royal Treasure. Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century*. New Haven, London 1977.
- Bourouiba, R.: *Ibn Tumart*. Algiers 1982².
- Bouzineb, H., "Respuestas de jurisconsultos magrebíes en torno a la inmigración de musulmanes hispánicos", *Hespéris-Tamuda*, XXVI-XXVII (1988-89), pp. 53-66.
- Briquet, C.M.: *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques de papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusque'en 1600*. Amsterdam 1968 (facsimile of the 1907 edition). 4 vols.
- Brunschvig, R.: *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides, des origines à la fin du XVe siècle*. Paris 1940-47. 2 vols.
- Burns, R.I.: *Islam under the Crusaders. Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia*. Princeton 1973.
- , "Príncipe almohade y converso mudéjar: nueva documentación sobre

- Abu Zayd", in: *Sharq al-Andalus*, 4, (1987), pp. 109-22.
- Bussell Thompson, B., "La Alhotba arrimada (o el Sermón de Rabadán) y el mester de clerecía", in: *Hispanic Studies in honor of Alan D. Deyermond. A North American tribute* (J. Miletich, ed.). Madison 1986, pp. 279-289.
- Cabanelas Rodríguez, D.: *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico*. Madrid 1952.
- , "El Caid Marroquí 'Abd al-Karim ibn Tuda, refugiado en la España de Felipe II", in: *Miscelánea de estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, XII (1963-4), pp. 75-88.
- , "Intento de supervivencia en el ocaso de una cultura: los libros plúmbeos de Granada", in: *NRFH*, 30 (1981), 334-58.
- Cagigas, I. de las: *Los Mudéjares*. Madrid 1948-9. 2 vols. (= Minorías étnico-religiosas de la edad media española, II).
- Calero Secall, M^a. I., "Una aproximación al estudio de las fatwas granadinas: Los temas de las fatwas de Ibn Širāy en los Nawāzil de Ibn Tarkāt", in: *Homenaje al Prof. Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez, o.f.m., con motivo de su LXX aniversario*. Granada 1987. 2 vols. vol. 1, pp. 189-202.
- Cantineau, J., "Lettre du moufti d'Oran aux Musulmans d'Andalousie", in: *Journal Asiatique*, CCX (1927), 1-17.
- Cardaillac, L.: *Morisques et Chrétiens, un affrontement polémique (1492-1640)*. Paris 1977.
- Cardaillac, D.: *La polémique anti-chrétienne du manuscrit aljamiado n° 4944 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid*. Thèse à l'Université Paul Valéry de Montpellier. 1972. 2 vols.
- , "Algunos problemas lingüísticos evocados a partir de los MSS aljamiados 4944 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid y V 7 de la Real Academia de la Historia", in: *Actas del Coloquio Internacional sobre Literatura Aljamiada y Morisca*, Madrid 1978, pp. 413-24.
- Caro Baroja, J.: *Los Moriscos del Reino de Granada*. Madrid 1976².
- Cervera Fras, M^a J.: *La Plegaria musulmana en el 'Compendio de Al-Tulaytul'*. Saragossa 1987.
- Chejne, A.G.: *Islam and the West. The Moriscos: a cultural and social history*. Albany 1983.
- Chorão Lavajo, J., "Túnis e o primeiro *studium arabicum* hispāno do século XIII. Problemática do capitulo dominicano de Toledo de 1250", in: *Islão e Arabismo na Península Ibérica. Actas do XI Congresso da União Europeia de Arabistas e Islamólogos* (Évora, etc. 1982). Évora 1986, pp. 225-252.
- Codera, F., "Almacén de un librero morisco descubierto en Almonacid de la Sierra", in: *BRAH*, V (1884), pp. 269-76.

- Colin, G., "Un nouveau traité grenadin d'hippologie", in: *Islamica*, 6 (1934) pp. 332-37.
- Contreras, J. de: see: Marqués de Lozoya, el.
- Corriente, F.: *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle*. Madrid 1977.
- : *Relatos píos y profanos del manuscrito aljamiado de Urrea de Jalón. Edición, notas lingüísticas e índices de un manuscrito mudéjar-morisco aragonés. Introduccón por María J. Viguera Molíns*. Saragossa 1990.
- Daniel, N.: *Islam and the West. The making of an Image*. Edinburgh 1960.
- Deluneau, A.: *L'Histoire du Salut chez les Pères de l'Eglise. La Doctrine des Ages du Monde*. Paris 1964.
- Derenbourg, H. and Barrau-Dihigo, L., "Quatre lettres de Josef Antonio Conde à Silvestre de Sacy", in: *Revue Hispanique*, 18 (1908), 258-278.
- Domínguez Ortiz, A. and Vincent, B.: *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría*. Madrid 1978.
- Dozy, R.: *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*. Beirut 1981. 2 vols.
- Dressendorfer, P.: *Islam unter der Inquisition. Die Morisco-Prozesse in Toledo (1575-1610)*. Wiesbaden 1971.
- Drost, G.W.: *De Moriscos in de Publicaties van Staat en Kerk (1492-1609). Een bijdrage tot het historisch discriminatie-onderzoek* (Doctoral thesis Leiden). Valkenburg 1984.
- Durand, D.: *La religion des Mahométans*. The Hague 1721.
- Epalza, M. de, "L'identité onomastique et linguistique des Morisques", in: *Actes du II^eme Symposium du C.I.E.M. sur Religion, Identité et Sources Documentaires sur les Morisques Andalous* (A. Temimi, ed.). Tunis 1984. 2 vols, 1, pp. 269-279.
- , "Moriscos y Andalusíes en Túnez durante el siglo XVII", in: *And.*, 34 (1969), pp. 247-327.
- , "A modo de introducción: El escritor Ybrahim Taybili y los escritores musulmanes aragoneses", Bernabé Pons, L.F.: *El cántico islámico del morisco hispanotunecino Taybili*. Saragossa 1988, pp. 5-30.
- , "La lexique religieux des Morisques et la littérature aljamiado-morisque", in: *Les Morisques et l'Inquisition* (L. Cardaillac, ed.). Paris 1990, pp. 51-64.
- , "Un manuscrito narrativo normativo arabe y aljamiado: problemas lingüísticos, literarios y teológicos de las traducciones moriscas", in: *Les actes de la première table ronde du C.I.E.M. sur: La literature aljamiado-morisque: hybridisme linguistique et univers discursif* (A. Temimi, ed.). Tunis 1986, pp. 35-45.

- : Review of G. A. Wieggers: *Yça Gidelli* (fl. 1450, his antecedents and successors, in: *Al-Qanṭara*, XIII (1992), pp. 301-3.
- Epalza, M. de, Petit, R. (eds.): *Recueil d'études sur les Moriscos andalous en Tunisie*. Madrid, Tunis 1973.
- Esteve Barba, F.: *Catálogo de la colección de manuscritos borbon-lorenzana*. Biblioteca Pública de Toledo. Madrid 1942.
- Fagnan, E.: *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques. Départements*, vol 18, Algiers, Paris 1893.
- Al-Fāsī, M. al-ʿĀbid: *Fihris makḥṭuṭāt khizānat al-Qarawīyyīn*. Casablanca 1979/1399. 4 Vols.
- Febrer Romaguera, M.V., "Los Bellvis; una dinastía mudéjar de alcañes generales de Valencia, Aragón y principado de Cataluña", in: *Actas del III Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, Teruel 1986, pp. 277-325.
- Fernández y González, F.: *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla*. Madrid 1866. photomechanical reprint Madrid 1985.
- Flasche, H.: *Geschichte der Spanischen Literatur*, I, Von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts. Bern, München 1977.
- Flügel, M.G.: *Die Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlich-königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*. Vienna 1865-1867. 3 Vols.
- Fonseca Antuña, G.: see El Mancebo.
- Fournel Guérin, J., "Le livre et la civilisation écrite dans la communauté morisque aragonaise (1540-1620)", in: *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, XV (1979), pp. 241-259.
- Gabrieli, F., "The Western Image and Western Studies on Islam", in: *The Legacy of Islam*, second edition (J. Schacht and C.E. Bosworth, eds.). Oxford 1979, pp. 9-62.
- Galmés de Fuentes, A., "El interés literario en los escritos aljamiado-moriscos", in: *Actas del Coloquio internacional sobre literatura aljamiada y morisca*. Madrid 1978, 189-209.
- , "La literatura aljamiado-morisca. Literatura Tradicional", in: *Les Morisques et leur Temps*. Paris 1983, pp. 15-27.
- , "La literatura española aljamiado-morisca", in: *Grundriss der Romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, vol. IX, T. 1, Fasc. 4, Heidelberg 1985, pp. 117-32.
- Gandz, S., "Die Muʿallaqa des Imrūlqais", in: *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*. 170. Band, 4. Abhandlung. Vienna 1913.
- García-Arenal, M.: *Los Moriscos*. Madrid 1975.
- : *Inquisición y Moriscos. Los procesos del Tribunal de Cuenca*. Madrid

- 1978.
- , “Los Moros de Tudela (Navarra) en torno a los años de la conversión (1515)”, in: *Les Morisques et leur temps*. Paris 1983, pp. 73-102.
- , “La conjonction du Šūfisme et Sharīfisme au Maroc: le Mahdī comme sauveur”, in: *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 55-56 (1990), pp. 233-256.
- García Gómez, E.: *Las jarchas romances de la série árabe en su marco*. Madrid 1965.
- Gayangos, P. de, “Language and Literature of the Moriscos”, in: *British and Foreign Review*, VIII (1839), pp. 63-95.
- : *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the British Museum*. London 1875-1893. 4 vols.
- Getino, L.G.A.: *Concepción y nascencia de la virgen*. Madrid 1924.
- Gil, J.: *La Escuela de traductores de Toledo y sus colaboradores judíos*. Toledo 1985.
- Glick, T.F.: *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Middle Ages*. Princeton 1979.
- Glick, T.F., and Sunyer, O.P., “Acculturation as an Explanatory Conception in Spanish History”, in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, XI (1969), pp. 136-54.
- Goitein, S.D., “The sanctity of Jerusalem and Palestine in Early Islam”, in: idem: *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*. Leiden 1966, pp. 135-148.
- Goldziher, I., “Materialien zur Kenntnis der Almohadenbewegung”, in: *ZDMG*, XLI (1887), pp. 30-140.
- , “Die Bekenntnisformeln der Almohaden”, in: *ZDMG*, XLIV (1890), pp. 168-70.
- González, J.: *Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva*. Madrid 1976. 2 vols.
- González Dávila, G.: *Teatro eclesiástico de las iglesias metropolitanas, y catedrales de los Reynos de las dos Castillas. Vidas de sus arzobispos y obispos, y cosas memorables de sus sedes*. Tomo primero. Madrid 1645.
- González Díez, E.: *El Concejo Buralés (884-1369): Marco histórico-institucional*. Burgos 1983-4.
- Gonzálvez, R., “Las minorías étnico-religiosas en la edad media española”, in: *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, vol. II-2. Madrid 1982, pp. 497-557.
- Granja, F. de la: “Una polémica religiosa en Murcia en tiempos de Alfonso el Sabio”, in: *And.* XXXI (1966), pp. 47-72.
- Gutas, D.: “Avicenna’s madhhab with an appendix on the question of his date of birth”, in: *Quaterni di Studi Arabi*, 5-6 (1987-88), pp. 323-36.
- Hajji, M.: *l'Activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l'époque Saʿdide*. Rabat 1976-77. 2 vols.
- Hagerty, M.J.: *Los libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte*. Madrid 1980.

- Halperin Donghi, T.: *Un conflicto nacional: moriscos y cristianos viejos en Valencia*. Valencia 1980.
- Harvey, L.P., "Yūse Banegas. Un moro noble bajo los reyes católicos (extracto del ms. aljamiado de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Res. 245)", in: *And.*, 21 (1956), pp. 297-302.
- , "Un manuscrito aljamiado en la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Cambridge", in: *And.*, 22 (1958), pp. 49-74.
- , "A Morisco manuscript in the Godolphin Collection at Wadham College, Oxford", in: *And.*, 27 (1962), pp. 461-5.
- , "Castilian 'mancebo' as a calque of Arabic 'abd, or how el mancebo de Arévalo got his name", in: *Modern Philology*, 65 (1967-8), pp. 130-2.
- , "Textes de littérature religieuse des Moriscos Tunisiens" in: R. Petit and Epalza, M. de: *Recueil d'études sur les moriscos andalous en Tunisie*. Madrid, Tunis 1973, pp. 199-204.
- , "The *alfaquí* in la *dança general de la muerte*", in: *Hispanic Review*, 41 (1973), pp. 498-510.
- , "Crypto-Islam in 16th-century Spain". *Actas. Primer Congreso de Estudios Arabes y Islámicos*. Córdoba 1975, pp. 163-185.
- , "El Mancebo de Arévalo y la literatura aljamiada", in: *Actas del Coloquio internacional sobre literatura aljamiada y morisca (Oviedo 1972)*. Madrid 1978, pp. 21-41.
- , "The Survival of Arabic Culture in Spain after 1492" in: *Actes du 8me Congrès de l'Union Européenne des arabisants et islamisants*. Aix-en-Provence 1978, pp. 85-88.
- , "La leyenda morisca de Ibrahim", in: *NRFH*, 30 (1981), pp. 1-20.
- , "'The Thirteen Articles of the faith' and 'The Twelve Degrees in which the World is governed': Two Passages in a sixteenth-century Morisco Manuscript and their Antecedents", in: *Medieval and Renaissance Studies on Spain and Portugal in honour of P.E. Russell* (F.W. Hodcroft et alii, eds.). Oxford 1981, pp. 15-29.
- , "Aljamía Portuguesa Revisited", in: *Portuguese Studies*, I, 1985/6, pp. 1-14.
- , "The Moriscos and the *hajj*", in: *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies. Bulletin*, 14 (1988), no. 1, pp. 11-24.
- , "A second Morisco manuscript at Wadham College, Oxford: A 18-15", in: *Al-Qanṭara*, X (1989), fasc. 1, pp. 257-272.
- : *Islamic Spain 1250 to 1500*. Chicago, London 1990.
- Heawood, E.: *Watermarks mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*. Hilversum 1950.
- Heger, K.: "Die bisher veröffentlichten Hargas und ihre Deutungen", in: *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 101, Tübingen 1960.

- Hegyí, O., "El uso del alfabeto árabe por minorías musulmanas y otros aspectos de la literatura aljamiada, resultantes de circunstancias históricas y sociales análogas", in: *Actas del coloquio internacional sobre literatura aljamiada y morisca*. Madrid 1978, pp. 147-164.
- Hernández, R., "Dominicos españoles pretridentinos", in: *RHCEE*, 3, pp. 179-233.
- Hernández Montes, B., "Obras de Juan de Segovia", in: *RHCEE*, 6, pp. 267-347.
- Hoenerbach, W.: *Spanisch-Islamische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Nasriden und Moriscos*. Bonn 1965.
- , "Los Moriscos a la luz de sus documentos", in: *Actas del coloquio internacional sobre literatura aljamiada y morisca*. Madrid 1978, pp. 49-68.
- Horst, K. van der, "The reliability of watermarks", in: *Gazette du Livre Médiéval*, 15 (1989), pp. 15-18.
- Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*. Madrid 1953 -> (11 volumes have appeared so far).
- Juynboll, Th.W.: *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche wet volgens de leer der Sja'f'itische school*. Leiden 1930⁴.
- Kaeppli, T.: *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*. Rome 1970-1980. 3 vols.
- Kamstra, J.H., "Een moeilijke keuze: de godsdienst van de gewone man. Over een vergeten groep in theologie en godsdienstwetenschap", in: *Tijdschrift voor Theologie*, 20 (1980), pp. 253-279.
- Kaptein, N.J.G.: *Muhammad's Birthday Festival. Early History in the Central Muslim Lands and Development in the Muslim West until the 10th/16th Century*. Leiden, etc. 1993.
- Karp, J.: *A Study of the Language of Selected 15th and 16th Century Aljamiado Manuscripts. A Critical Appraisal of the Evidence which they furnish about Contemporary Sound Changes in Castilian*. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Queen Mary College, University of London. 1976.
- Kassin, L. J. : *A Study of a Fourteenth-century Polemical Treatise Adversos Judaeos*. Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Columbia University New York 1969.
- Khadduri, M.: *Islamic Jurisprudence. Shāfi'ī's Risāla*. Baltimore 1961.
- Klenk, U.: *La leyenda de Yūsuf. Ein Aljamiadotext*. Edition und Glossar. Tübingen 1972.
- Koningsveld, P.Sj. van: *The Latin-Arabic glossary of the Leiden University Library*. Doctoral thesis. Leiden 1976.
- , Review of C. López-Morillas, "The Qur'ān in Sixteenth Century Spain:

- Six Morisco Versions of Sura 79. London 1982" in: *Al-Arabiyya, Journal of the American Association of Teachers of Arabic*, 17 (1984), pp. 135-141.
- , "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts from Medieval Christian Spain: Some Supplementary Notes", in: *Festgabe für Hans-Rudolf Singer: zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. April 1990 übereicht von seinen Freunden und Kollegen*, Frankfurt am Main, Bern, etc. 1991, Vol. 1 (=FAS Publikationen des Fachbereichs Angewandte Sprachwissenschaft der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz in Gernersheim, Reihe A, Bd. 13), pp. 811-823.
- , "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts from Christian Spain: a comparative intercultural approach", in: *Israel Oriental Studies*, 12 (1992), pp. 75-110.
- , "La literatura cristiano-árabe de la España medieval, y el significado de la transmisión textual en árabe de la Collectio Conciliorum", in: *Concilio III de Toledo. XIV Centenario 589-1989*. Toledo 1991, pp. 695-710.
- and al-Samarrai, Q.: *Localities and Dates in Arabic Manuscripts. Descriptive catalogue of a collection of Arabic Manuscripts in the possession of E.J. Brill*. Leiden 1978.
- and Wiegers, G.A., "The polemical works of Muḥammad al-Qaysī (fl. 1309) and their circulation in Arabic and Aljamiado among the Mudejars in the fourteenth century" (forthcoming in: *Al-Qanṭara*).
- Labarta, A., "Oraciones cristianas aljamiadas en procesos inquisitoriales de moriscos valencianos", in: *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, XXXVII (1977-8), pp. 177-97.
- , "Notas sobre algunos traductores de árabe en la Inquisición Valenciana (1565-1609)", in: *Revista del Instituto de estudios islámicos en Madrid*, 21 (1981-2), pp. 101-133.
- : *La onomástica de los moriscos valencianos*. Madrid 1987.
- Labarta, A. and García-Arenal, M., "Algunos fragmentos aljamiados del proceso inquisitorial contra Yuçe de la Vaçía, alfaquí de la villa de Molina (1495)", in: *NRFH*, 30 (1981), pp. 127-42.
- Ladero Quesada, M.A.: *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*. Valladolid 1969.
- , "Datos demográficos sobre los musulmanes de Granada y Castilla en el siglo XV", *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 8 (1972-3), pp. 481-90.
- : "Los Mudéjares de Castilla en la Baja Edad media" in: *Actas del I simposio de mudéjarismo*. Teruel 1981, pp. 349-390.
- : "Los Mudéjares en los reinos de la corona de Castilla. Estado actual de su estudio", in: *Actas del III simposio internacional de mudéjarismo*. Teruel 1986, pp. 5-20.
- Ladero Quesada, M.A. and Quintanilla Raso, M^a. C., "Bibliotecas de la alta nobleza castellana en el siglo XV", in: *Livre et Lecture en Espagne et en*

- France sous l'ancien régime*, Colloque de la Casa de Velázquez, Paris 1981, pp. 45-59.
- Lane, E.: *An Arabic-English Lexicon in eight parts*. Beirut 1968.
- Lapeyre, H.: *Géographie de l'Espagne Morisque*. Paris 1959.
- Lasarte López, J. A.(ed.): *Poemas de Mohamad Rabadan. Canto de las lunas - día del juicio - discurso de la luz - los nombres de Dios*. Saragossa 1991.
- Lea, H. Ch.: *The Moriscos of Spain. Their conversion and expulsion*. Philadelphia 1901.
- Le Tourneau, R. : *The Almohad movement in North Africa in the 12th and 13th century*. New Jersey 1969.
- , “Sur la disparition de la doctrine almohade” in: *Studia Islamica*, XXXII (1970), pp. 193-201.
- Levi della Vida, G., “Manoscritti Arabi di Origine Spagnola nella Biblioteca Vaticana”, in: *Studi e Testi*, 220 (1954), pp. 133-189.
- Lévi-Provençal, E.: *Manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial décrits d'après les notes de Hartwig Derenbourg, revues et mises à jour par E. Lévi-Provençal*. vol. III, Paris 1928.
- : *Islam d'Occident. Études d'histoire médiévale*. Paris 1949.
- Lichačew, N.P.: *Bumaga i drewnějšija bumažnyja mel'nicy w Moskoskom gosudarstwě*. Saint Petersburg 1891.
- Lincoln, J.N., “Aljamiado Prophecies”, in: *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, LII (1937), pp. 631-44.
- Longás, P.: *Vida religiosa de los Moriscos*. Madrid 1915.
- López Baralt, L., “El oráculo de Mahoma sobre la Andalucía musulmana de los últimos tiempos en un manuscrito aljamiado-morisco de la Biblioteca Nacional de París”, in: *Hispanic Review*, 52 (1984), pp. 41-57.
- López Mata, E., “Morería y Judería”, in: *BRAH*, 129 (1951), pp. 335-384.
- López-Morillas, C.: “La oración como diálogo en un comentario morisco sobre la fātiha”, in: *NRFH*, 30 (1981), 168-273.
- : *The Qur'ān in Sixteenth-Century Spain: Six Morisco Versions of Sura 79*. London 1982.
- , “‘Trilingual’ marginal Notes (Arabic, Aljamiado and Spanish) in a Morisco Manuscript from Toledo”, in: *JAOS*, 103.3 (1983), pp. 495-504.
- , “Copistas y escribanos moriscos”, in: *Actes du Ilme Symposium International du C.I.E.M. sur: Religion, Identité et Sources Documentaires sur les Morisques Andalous*. Tunis 1984, vol. II, pp. 71-78.
- , “Hispano-Semitic Calques and the Context of Translations”, in: *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 67 (1990), pp. 111-128.
- , “El manuscrito J 18 y sus comentarios exegéticos” (forthcoming).
- López Ortiz, J., “Fatwas granadinas de los siglos XIV y XV. La fatwa en al-Andalus”, in: *And.*, VI (1941), pp. 72-127.

- Lucquet, G.H., "Hernan l'Allemand", in: *Revue d'Histoire des Religions*, 44 (1901), pp. 407-22.
- Llaguno y Amirola, E.: *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España desde su restauración*. Madrid 1829. 4 vols.
- McGinn, B.: *Visions of the End. Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*. New York 1979.
- Macho y Ortega, F., "Condición social de los Mudéjares Aragoneses (siglo XV)", in: *Memorias de la Facultad de Filosofía y letras*, I (1923), pp. 141-319.
- Mackay, A.: *Spain in the Middle Ages*. Houndsmills etc. 1977.
- Al-Manūnī, M., "Zāhira taʿrībiyya fī'l-maghrib al-saʿdī", in: *Daʿwat al-Ḥaqq*, 10, no. 3 (Ramadan 1386/1967), pp. 74-91.
- : *Al-ʿulūm wa'l-ādāb wa'l-funūn ʿalā ʿahd al-muwahhidīn*. Rabat 1397 / 1977².
- Manzanares de Cirre, M.: *Arabistas españoles del siglo XIX*. Madrid 1972.
- , "El otro mundo en la literatura aljamiado-morisca", in: *Hispanic Review*, 41 (1973), pp. 599-608.
- , "El capítulo de las racontaciones del libro de Samarkandi", in: *Actas del coloquio internacional sobre literatura aljamiada y morisca*. Madrid 1978, pp. 237-58.
- Marçais, G., "Testour et sa grande mosquée. Contribution à l'étude des Andalous en Tunisie", in: *Recueil d'études sur les moriscos andalous en Tunisie* (M. de Epalza and R. Petit, eds.). Madrid, Tunis 1973, pp. 271-284.
- Marqués de Lozoya, el: *Historia de las corporaciones de menestrales en Segovia*. Segovia 1921.
- Márquez Villanueva, F., "El problema historiográfico de los Moriscos", in: *Bulletin Hispanique*, 86, 1-2 (1984), pp. 61-135 (reprinted in: idem: *El problema morisco (desde otras laderas)*. Madrid 1991.
- : *Temas y Personajes del Quijote*. Madrid 1975.
- Martínez Ripoll, A., "Aportaciones a la vida cultural de Murcia en el siglo XIII. La madrisa de de M. al-Ricotí y el *studium solemne* de los dominicos", in: *Murgetana*, 28 (1968), 33-46.
- Martínez Ruiz, J., "Versión morisca de la 'Súplica inicial' del 'Libro de Buen Amor' en un manuscrito inédito de Ocaña" in: *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, XXXII (1976), pp. 323-347.
- Massé, H., "La profession de foi (ʿaqīda) et les guides spirituels (morchida) du mahdi Ibn Toumart", in: *Mémorial Henri Basset*. Paris 1928, pp. 105-21 (= Publications de l'Institut des hautes-études marocaines, T. XVIII).
- Menéndez Pidal, G., "Cómo trabajaron la escuelas alfonsíes", in: *NRFH*, V

- (1951), 363-380.
- Menéndez Pidal, R.: *Poema de Yúçuf. Materiales para su estudio*. Granada 1952.
- Menéndez Pidal, R., and García Gómez, E., "El conde mozárabe Sisnando Davidiz y la política de Alfonso VI con los Taifas", in: *And.*, XII (1947), pp. 27-41.
- Miguel Rodríguez, J.C. de: *La Comunidad Mudéjar de Madrid*. Madrid 1989.
- Monroe, J.T., "A curious Morisco appeal to the Ottoman empire", in: *And.* XXXI (1966), pp. 281-303.
- , "The Tune or the Words? (Singing Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry)", in: *Al-Qanṭara*, VII (1987), pp. 265-317.
- : *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish scholarship*. Leiden 1970.
- : *The Shu'ūbiyya in Al-Andalus. The Risāla of Ibn García and Five Refutations*. Berkely 1970.
- Montaner Frutos, A.: *El Recontamiento de Al-Miqdād y Al-Mayāsa*. Saragossa 1988.
- Monter, W.: *Frontiers of Heresy: the Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily*. Cambridge 1990.
- Morgan, J.: *Mohametism fully explained*. London 1723-25. 2 vols.
- Mosin, V.: *Anchor watermarks*. Amsterdam 1973.
- Müller, M.J., "Morisco-Gedichte", in: *Sitzungsberichte der königl. baye-rischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1860, 201-53.
- Mu'nis, H.: *Faḍīr al-Andalus*. Cairo 1959.
- Nadīdjār, °Abd al-Maḍjīd: *Al-mahḍī Ibn Tūmart. Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. °Abd Allāh al-Maghribī al-Sūfī, ḥayātuhu wa ārā'uḥu wa ṭhawratuhu al-fikriyya wa 'l-idjtimā'iyya wa athāruhu bi 'l-Maghrib*. Beirut 1403/1983.
- Nagel, T.: *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft im Islam*. Zürich, München 1981. 2 vols.
- Niederehe, H.-J.: *Alfonso X el sabio y la lingüística de su tiempo*. Madrid 1975.
- Nwyia, P.: *Un mystique prédicateur à la Qarawṭyīn de Fès: Ibn °Abbād de Ronda (1332-1390)*. Beyrouth 1961.
- Oliver Asín, J., "Un Morisco de Túnez, admirador de Lope. Estudio del ms. S 2 de la Colección Gayangos", in: *And.*, I (1933), pp. 409-50.
- : *Vida de Don Felipe de Africa, príncipe de Fez y Marruecos (1566-1621)*. Madrid, Granada 1955.
- Padwick, C.E.: *Muslim Devotions*. London 1960.
- Pano y Ruata, M. de: *Las coplas del peregrino de Puey Moncón. Viaje a la*

- Meca en el siglo XVI*. Saragossa 1897.
- Penella Roma, J.: *Los Moriscos españoles emigrados al norte de Africa*. Resumen de la tesis presentada para aspirar al grado de Doctor en Filosofía y Letras por -. Barcelona 1975.
- , "Introduction au manuscrit D 565 de la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Bologne" in: *Recueil d'études sur les Moriscos andalous en Tunisie*. Epalza, M. de, and Petit, R. (eds.). Madrid, Tunis 1973, 258-63.
- Peres, H., "Les éléments ethniques de l'Espagne musulmane et la langue arabe au Ve/XIe siècle", in: *Etudes d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, vol. 2, Paris 1926, pp. 717-31.
- Phillips, W.D.: *Enrique IV and the crisis of Fifteenth-Century Castile 1425-1480*. Cambridge Massachusetts 1978.
- Pieri, H., "L'accueil par des Tunisiens aux Morisques expulsés d'Espagne: un témoignage morisque", in: *Ibla*, 31 (1968), pp. 63-70.
- Plaza Bores, A. de la: *Archivo general de Simancas*. Guía del investigador. Madrid 1986³.
- Redondo, A., "La bibliothèque de don Francisco de Zúñiga Guzmán y Sotomayor, troisième duc de Béjar (1500?-1544)", in: *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 3 (1967), pp. 147-196.
- Reinhardt, K., "Die biblischen Autoren Spaniens bis zum Konzil von Trient", in: *RHCEE*, 5, pp. 9-242.
- Reland, H.: *De religione mahammedica libri duo*. Utrecht 1705.
- : *De religione mohammedica*. editio altera auctior. Utrecht 1717.
- Renaud, H.P.J., "Trois études de la médecine arabe en Occident: I Le Musta'ini de Ibn Beklares", in: *Hespéris*, 10 (1930), pp. 135-50.
- Ribera y Tarragó, J.: *Disertaciones y Opúsculos*. Madrid 1928. 2 vols.
- Richter Bernburg, L., "Linguistic Shu'übīya and early Neo-Persian Prose", in: *JAOS*, 94 (1974), pp. 55-64.
- Rieu, C. du: *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britanico asservantur*. Pars secunda. London 1871.
- Rodríguez, I., "Autores espirituales españoles en la edad media", in: *RHCEE*, 1, pp. 175-351.
- Romano, D., "Judíos escribanos y trujamanes de árabe en la corona de Aragón (reinados de Jaime I a Jaime II)" in: *Sefarad*, XXXVIII (1978), pp. 71-105.
- Rubiera, M.J., "La lengua romance de las jarchas (Una jarcha en lengua occitana)", in: *Al-Qanṭara*, VIII (1987), pp. 319-29.
- Rucquoi, A.: *Valladolid en la Edad Media*. Valladolid 1987. 2 vols.
- Ruiz Hernando, J.A.: *Historia del Urbanismo en la ciudad de Segovia del siglo XII al XIX*. Segovia 1982. 2 vols.

- Saavedra y Moragas, E.: *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española en la recepción pública del excmo señor D. Eduardo Saavedra el 29 de diciembre 1878*. Impr. de la compañía de impresores y librereros. Madrid 1878.
- Saez, L.: *Demostración histórica del verdadero valor de todas las monedas que corrían en Castilla durante el reynado del señor don Enrique IV, y de su correspondencia con las del señor D. Carlos IV*. Madrid 1805.
- Salmi, A., "Le genre des poèmes de nativité (maulūdiyya-s) dans le royaume de Grenade et au Maroc du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle", in: *Hespéris* 43 (1956), pp. 335-435.
- Salvador, E., "Sobre la emigración mudéjar a Berbería. El tránsito legal a través del puerto de Valencia durante el primer cuarto del siglo XVI", in: *Estudis*, 4 (1975), pp. 39-68.
- Sánchez Álvarez, M., "Algunos aspectos sobre los Turcos en la literatura de los Moriscos", in: *Actas del coloquio internacional sobre literatura aljamiada y morisca*. Madrid 1978, pp. 295-311.
- Sarnelli, C., "Lo scrittore ispano-marrocchino al-Ḥaḡarī e il suo kitāb nāṣir al-dīn", in: *Atti del Terzo Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici* (Ravello 1966). Naples 1967, pp. 595-614.
- Scales, P., "¿Cuál era la verdadera importancia de la conquista de Tuletwū, capital de los Godos?", in: *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo*. Actas del II Congreso internacional de Estudios Mozárabes. 3 vols. Toledo 1987-89. Vol. 1, pp. 339-52.
- Schacht, J.: *An Introduction to Islamic Law*. Oxford 1964.
- Schimmel, A.: *Mystische Dimensionen des Islam*. Cologne 1985.
- Sena, A. de: *Bibliotheca ordinis fratrum praedicatorum, virorum inter illos doctrina insignium nomina, et eorum quae scripto mandarunt Opusculorum, Titulorum et argumenta complectens*. Paris 1585.
- Sierksma, F.: *Een nieuwe hemel & een nieuwe aarde. Messianistische en eschatologische bewegingen en voorstellingen bij primitieve volken*. Groningen 1978.
- Silvestre de Sacy, A.I., "Notices de deux manuscrits arabico-espagnols. N.os 208 de la Bibliothèque nationale et 290 de celle de Saint-Germain des-Prés", in: *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, IV An. 7, pp. 626-647.
- , "Notice d'un manuscrit espagnol écrit pour l'usage des Maures d'Espagne, et contenant un Traité de la croyance, des pratiques et de la morale des Musulmans", in: *Notices et extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi at autres bibliothèques*, T XI (1827), pp. 311-333.
- Simonet, F.: *Glosario de las voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes precedido de un estudio sobre el dialecto mozárabe*. Madrid 1888. 2

vols.

Singer, H.R., "Morisken als Übersetzer", in: *Sprache, Literatur, Kultur. Romanistische Beiträge* (D. Briesemeister, ed.). Frankfurt/M. 1974, pp. 37-49 (= FAS. Publikationen des Fachbereichs Angewandte Sprachwissenschaft der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz in Gernersheim. Reihe A, Bd.1).

Sivan, E., "le caractère sacré de Jérusalem dans l'Islam aux XIIe- XIIIe siècles", in: *Studia Islamica*, XXVII (1967), pp. 149-82.

—, "The beginnings of the Faḍā'il al-Quds literature", in: *Israel Oriental Studies*, 1, (1971), pp. 263-71.

Southern, R.W.: *Western Views on Islam*. Cambridge 1962.

Steiger, A.: *Contribución a la fonética del hispano-árabe y los arabismos en el ibero-románico y el siciliano*. Madrid 1932 (= Revista de Filología Española, Anejo XVII).

Steinschneider, M., "Polemische und apologetische Literature in Arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden", in: *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, VI, no. 3. Leipzig 1878.

Stern, S.M.: *Les chansons mozarabes*. Palermo 1953.

—: *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry* (L.P. Harvey, ed.). Oxford 1974.

Stieglecker, H.: *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*. Paderborn, München, Wien 1962.

Stolz, F.: *Grundzüge der Religionswissenschaft*. Göttingen 1988.

Terés Sádaba, E.: *Los Manuscritos árabes de la Real Academia de la Historia: La 'colección Gayangos'*. Discurso leído en el acto de su recepción pública por —. Madrid 1975.

Tibawi, A.L., "Is the Qur'ān translatable?", in: *The Muslim World*, 52 (1962), pp. 4-16.

Ticknor, M.G.: *History of Spanish literature*. London 1849.

—: *Historia de la literatura española* (traducida al castellano con adiciones y notas críticas por D. Pascual de Gayangos y D. Enrique de Vedia). Madrid 1851-56. 4 vols.

Tormo y Monzó, E.: *Album cromolitográfico de la decoración de las salas regias del alcázar de Segovia*. Madrid 1905.

Torres Balbás, L.: *Algunos aspectos del Mudejarismo urbano medieval*. Discurso leído el día 10 de enero de 1954 en la recepción pública (Real Academia de la Historia). Madrid 1954.

Torres Fontes, J., "La cultura murciana en el reinado de Alfonso X", in: *Murgetana*, 14 (1960), pp. 57-89.

—, "El alcalde mayor de las aljamas de moros en Castilla", in: *AHDE*, 1962, pp. 131-182.

- : *La reconquista de Murcia en 1266 por Jaime I de Aragón*. Murcia 1987².
- Turki, A.M., "Consultation juridique d'al-imām al-Māzārī sur le cas des musulmans vivant en Sicile sous l'autorité des Normands", in: *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 44 (1984), pp. 691-704.
- , "Wathā'iq 'an al-hijra al-andalusiyya al-akhīra ilā Tūnis", in: *Ḥawliyyāt al-djāmi'a al-tūnisiyya*, 4 (1967), pp. 23-82.
- Tyan, E.: *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*. Paris 1938-43. 2 vols.
- Valls i Subirà, O.: *Paper and Watermarks in Catalonia*. Amsterdam 1970. 2 vols.
- : *The History of Paper in Spain*. Madrid 1978-1982. 3 vols.
- Vargas Ponce, J.: *Elogio del rey don Alfonso el Sabio*. Premiado por la Real Academia Española en junta que celebró el día 15 de octubre de 1782. Madrid 1782.
- Vernet, J., "La exégèse musulmane traditionnelle en les coranes aljamiados", in: *Actas del Coloquio internacional sobre literatura aljamiada y morisca*. Madrid 1978, pp. 123-145.
- Viguera, M.J., "Partición de herencia entre una familia mudéjar de Medina-celi", in: *Al-Qanṭara*, III (1982), pp. 73-133.
- , "Documentos Mudéjares Aragoneses", in: *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 5-6 (1987-88), pp. 786-790 (= Atti del XIII Congresso dell'Unione Européenne d'Arabisants et d'Islamisants).
- , "Una mapa de documentos mudéjares y moriscos de Aragón y Navarra", in: *Homenaje al Profesor Jacinto Bosch Vilá*, vol. 1, Granada 1991, pp. 429-434.
- Vincent, B.: *Minorías y marginados en la España del siglo XVI*. Granada 1987.
- Waardenburg, J., "Official and Popular Religion as a problem in Islamic Studies", in: *Official and Popular Religion. Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies* (P.J. Vrijhof and J. Waardenburg, eds.). The Hague, Paris, New York 1977, pp. 340-86 (= Religion and Society, 19).
- Wasserstein, D.: *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*. Princeton 1985.
- Watt, W.M.: *Introduction to the Qur'ān*. Edinburgh 1970.
- : *Muhammad's Mecca*. History in the Qur'ān. Edinburgh 1988.
- Wensick, A.J.: *The Muslim Creed*. Leiden 1932.
- Wiegers, G.A.: *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius. Aḥmad b. Kāsim al-Andalusī and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*. Leiden 1988.

- , “Los Manuscritos aljamiados como fuentes históricas para el siglo XVI: El manuscrito 5252 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid” in: *Las Prácticas musulmanas de los Moriscos Andaluces (1492-1609)*. Zaghouan 1989, pp. 181-188.
- , “‘Īsā b. Yābir and the origins of Aljamiado literature”, in: *Al-Qanṭara*, XI (1990), pp. 155-191.
- : “A life between Europe and the Maghrib: the writings and travels of Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Hajarī al-Andalusī (born ca. 977/1569-70)”, in: *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges* (= Orientations. Yearbook of the Dutch association for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (G.J. van Gelder and E. de Moor, eds.), vol. 1, Amsterdam, Atlanta, 1993, pp. 87-115.
- : “Diplomatie et polémique anti-chrétienne: naissance et influence de l'oeuvre de Muhammad Alguazir (vers 1021/1612)”, in: *Actes du V Symposium International d'Etudes Morisques sur: le Ve centenaire de la chute de Grenade 1492-1992*, Zaghouan 1993, 3 vols., vol. 2, pp. 747-756.
- Wijnman, H.F., “De Hebraïcus Jan Theunisz. Barbarossius alias Johannes Antonides als lector in het Arabisch aan de Leidse Universiteit (1612-1613). Een hoofdstuk Amsterdamse geleerdengeschiedenis”, in: *Studia Rosenthaliana*, II no.1 (1968), 1-41, no. 2 (1968), pp. 149-177.
- Zbiss, S.M., Gafsi, A., Boughanmi, M., Epalza, M. de (eds.): *Etudes sur les morisques-andalous*. Tunis 1983.
- Zonghi's Watermarks*. (E.J. Labarre, ed.). Hilversum 1953.

GENERAL INDEX

- °Abbās, I. 30, 33
 °Abd al-Mu'min (Almohad caliph) 4, 45
 °Abd al-Rahman II (Umayyad emir) 29
 °Abdallāh al-mu'allim 204
 °Abdallāh al-Zajardo 93
 Abraham Xarafi 89
 Abrahén Redomero 85
 Abu 'l-°Abbās Aḥmad b. °Imrān 82
 Abū 'l-Ḥasan b. °Aṭiyya 41
 Abū Ḥanīfa 31, 104
 Abū Marwān °Abd al-Malik b. Zaydān 188
 Abū Muḥammad Mahdī b. °Īsā 41
 Abū Yūsuf 32
 Abun Nasr, J. 42
 Adam 128, 178, 179, 182
 Adat Aghrīz 202
 Africa 191
 Aḥmad al-Manṣūr 192
 Aḥmad b. °Abdallah al-Marunī (ambassador) 194, 195
 Aiton 70, 75, 98, 100, 101, 106, 142, 209
 Ajo y Sainz, G. 52
 Alarcón, M. 119
 Albaicín 9
 Albarracín Navarro, J. 66
 Albeta 11, 202
 Alcalá de Henares 57, 191
 Alcalá, P. de 3
alcalde 78, 84, 87, 88, 147, 149
alcalde mayor 80, 84, 85, 88, 89, 141, 147, 155
 Alcázar (Segovia) 148
 Alcazarquivir 187
 Alexander IV (Pope) 52
 Alfonso (opponent of Enrique IV) 140, 141
 Alfonso VI 5, 7
 Alfonso X 4, 8, 48, 49, 52, 56, 67
 Algazel (see also: al-Ḡhazālī) 144
 Algeria 11
 Algiers 65, 94
 Alguazir, Muḥammad 189, 193, 196
 Alhambra 165
 °Alī al-Ḡharīb 64
 Ali Alniguali abençeraje 193
 Ali de Bobadilla 89
 Ali de Montejo 147
 Aljazira del Conde 165
 Almagro 165
 Almería 65
 Almohads 2, 14, 38, 40, 42, 43, 45, 97, 98, 206
 Almonacid de la Sierra 12, 27, 78, 118-120, 188, 201
 Almoravids 2, 6, 30, 40, 45
 Almuzara 76
 Alonso de Espina 105
 Alonso-Cortés, M. de las Nieves 59
 Alpujarras 11
 D'Alverny, M. Th. 44, 49
 Amador de los Ríos, J. 134, 136, 138
 Amonesill, Mohammed 186
 Amsterdam 18
 Anabaptists 195
 al-Andalus 12, 14, 16, 25, 30, 33, 37, 39, 40, 46, 197, 206
 Andrād al-Iṣhbīlī (see also Ibn

- Andarās) 54, 56
 al-Anṣārī, Muḥammad Ibn Abī 202
 Antichrist 91
 Antist, V.I. 136
 Antonio de Alcalá 141
 Antonio de Sena 136
 Antonio, Nicolas 115, 136
 Apocalypticism 133, 209
 °*aqṭda* 17, 40, 44, 45, 93, 97
 Ibn al-°Arabī, Abū Bakr 32
 Aragon 4, 7, 10, 12, 20, 60, 63,
 64, 67, 82, 83, 89, 111,
 117, 118, 147, 165, 169,
 170, 174, 181, 182, 187,
 192, 200, 202, 203
 Aranda de Duero 88
 Arévalo 165
 Arié, R. 55, 206
 Aristotle 55
 Arnaldez, R. 30
 Asenjo González, M. 80, 81, 85,
 86
 Aṣḥ°arites 103
 Aṣḥhab 58
 Asín Palacios, M. 19, 23, 27, 63,
 64, 119, 171
 Astorga 49, 165
 St. Augustine, convent of 138
 Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā) 55
 Avila 82, 83, 165, 206
 Azarā'īl (Izrā'īl, angel of death) 90
 Aznar Cardona, P. 22
 Bābā, Aḥmad 5, 87
 Bacon, R. 49
 Badajoz 38, 88
 Baer, Y. 130
 Baghdad 39
 al-Bakrī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 182
 Ballesteros y Beretta 52
 Banegas, Yüçe 174
 Banū Balī 29
 Barbary 191
 Barceló Torres, M. del C. 12, 60
 Barcelona 5
 Barrau-Dihigo, L. 18
 Basel 70
 Bataillon, M. 79, 86
 Bauer Landauer, I. 88
 al-Bayāsī, °Abd al-Ḥaqq 4
 al-Baydaq 25
 Beatus de Liébana 128
 Beck, H.L. 41, 87, 193
 Beer, R. 134
 Béjar, Duke of 138
 Belchite 204
 Bellvis (family) 89
 Ben Jemia, M.N. 43
 Bennassar, B. and L. 192
 Berber language 40-42, 44, 45-46
 Bernabé Pons, L. 191, 193
 Bertrand, M. 197
bid'ā 24, 42, 43
bid'ā (innovación) 212
 Bidjāya 53, 56
 Biscay 9
 Bleda, J. 22
 Bofarull y Sanz, F. 62
 Boggs, R.S. 130
 Bonachia Hernando J.A. 59
 Borja 83
 Bosch Vilá, J. 7
 Boswell, J. 89
 Bourouiba, R. 40
 Bousquet, G.H. 212
 Bouzineb, H. 83
 Brayme Aragonés 84
 Briquet, C.M. 28, 44, 62, 66, 115,
 117, 119, 171, 173, 185
 Brunschvig, R. 53
 Bū °Iyād 54
 al-Bukḥārī 208
 Burgos 52, 58, 59, 82

- Burns, R.I. 7, 45, 82
 Burriel, A. 137
 Busisa, Hamuda 186
 Bussell Thompson, B. 93, 207
 Cabanelas Rodríguez, D. 13, 17,
 22, 24, 70, 72, 74, 80, 114-
 115, 144, 150, 187
 °Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī 82
 al-°Abdūsī, °Abd Allāh (*muftī*) 86,
 87
 Cabra 38
 Cadrete 152, 162
 Caesarea 70
 Cagigas, I. de las 3
 Calatayud 83
 Calatorao 63
 Cambridge 17
 Canard, M. 205
 Cánovas del Castillo, A. 22
 Cantabria 194
 Cantineau, J. 43
 Caqui Dilimost (=Yça of Segovia)
 135
 Cardaillac, L. 64, 175, 180, 184,
 185, 193, 194, 209
 Cardaillac, D. 64, 65, 185
 Carlos V (king) 174
 Carmelites 91
 Carreton, Hamete 89, 148
 Carreton, Abraham, 89
 Carthago 44
 Cartuja del Paular 79
 Castile 4, 7, 11, 12, 17, 19, 59,
 61, 67, 76, 82, 84, 89, 125,
 131, 140, 147, 162, 165,
 187
 Castries, de H. 194
 Catalonia 4
 Cervantes, J. de (cardinal) 70
 Cervantes, M. de 22, 191
 Cervera Fras, M.J. 156
 Chejne, A. 16, 198, 199
 Chorão Lavajo, J. 49, 51, 97
 Christians 2-3, 4-10, 12, 14, 15,
 17, 20-22, 26, 37, 44, 45,
 47, 48, 53, 58-60, 61, 83,
 86-87, 96, 116, 117, 121,
 127, 132, 139, 141, 157,
 162, 163, 165, 185, 191,
 193, 202, 206, 210
 New Christians 10
 Codera, F. 120
 Colin, G. 55
 Colmenares, D. de 139
 Conde, A. 18, 117
 Constantinople 26, 69, 70, 90, 92,
 126, 189
 Conversos 8, 80, 90
 Cordoba 1, 29-30, 39, 165
 Corriente, F. 144
 Cusa, Nicolas of 71
 al-Daḡīdjāl (see also Antichrist) 126
Daḡīn 3, 4
 Daniel (book of) 91
 Dāniyāl 126
 Daroca 83
 Davídiz, Sisnando 6
 Deluneau, A. 128
 Derenbourg, H. 18
 Devera, Mohanmad 15, 24, 151,
 153, 175, 176, 205
 Dido 44
 Dietrich, A. 37
ḡīhad 45, 130, 176, 181, 208
 al-Djudhāmī, Ibn al-Fakhkhār 63,
 206
 Domínguez Ortiz, A. 184, 192
 Dominic 137
 Dominicans 51, 91, 136, 137, 139
 Dozy, R. 3, 31
 Dressendörfer, P. 212
 Drost, G.W. 22, 185

- du'a'* 43, 122, 133, 212
 Durand, D. 17, 161
 Egypt 11
elches 9
 Enlightenment 101
 Enrique de Villena 132
 Enrique III (king) 61
 Enrique IV (king) 9, 17, 79, 80, 84, 85, 88, 125, 140, 141, 148
 Enríquez del Castillo, D. 105
 Epalza, M. de 13, 25, 27, 63, 92, 143, 184, 192, 213
 Erpenius, Thomas 194
 Escribano, Iça 202
 Escribano, Luis 201
 Escribano, Muḥammad 187
 Esteve Barba, F. 110
 Europe 47, 192, 193
 Exea de Albarracín 175, 201, 205
 Extremadura 165
fada 118
 Fahd, T. 126
faqih 5, 53, 63, 69, 71, 78, 80, 82, 83, 89, 138, 142, 147, 149, 152, 162, 198, 202, 204, 208
 Farash b. Lubb 78
 Farax Alçadafi 88
 Farax de Belvis 89
farda 10
 Fās 41, 54, 87
 al-Fāsī, M. al-^cĀbid 54, 56
 al-Fāṭimī 91
farwa 1, 5, 14, 31, 33, 36, 37, 82, 87, 103, 147, 208, 212
 Febrer Romaguera, M.V. 89
 Felipe III (king) 187
 Felix V (anti-pope) 70
 Fernand Gómez de Solis 88
 Fernández, A. 137
 Fernández y Fernández, M.J. 63
 Fernández y González, F. 3, 5, 6, 21, 49, 81, 82
 Fernando el Católico (king) 174
 Fernando IV (king) 58
fiqh 1, 34, 42, 57, 67, 130, 133, 161, 171, 173, 206
 Flasche, H. 61
 Florence 90, 203
 Flügel, M.G. 64
 Fonseca, D. 22
 Fonseca Antuña, G. 152, 164, 166, 174
 Fournel Guérin, J. 118, 182, 202
 France 11, 65, 92, 191, 209
 Francisco de Avila 149
 Francisco de Santa Cruz 86
 Francisco de Toledo 140
 Frederic II (king) 49
 Gabrieli, F. 17, 48
 Galen 53, 55
 Galera 5
 Galmés de Fuentes, A. 13, 16, 198
 Gandía 165
 Gandz, S. 55
 Garcí Ruiz 80
 García-Arenal, M. 11, 91, 142, 212
 García Gómez, E. 6
 Gardet, L. 103
 Gascuna 56
 Gayangos, P. de 19, 20, 22, 27, 43, 57, 58, 117, 120, 123, 124, 162, 181, 186, 211
 Germain, Jean 71, 73
 Germanía 10
 Germany 70, 90
 Getino, L.G.A. 137
 Al-Ghāzī, Abū ^cAbd Allāh Muḥammad 204
 al-Ghazālī 52, 97, 104, 144, 164, 166, 204

- al-Ghubrīnī 53, 56
 Gibraltar 7
 Gil, J. 48, 49
 Glick, T. 37
 Goitein, S. 129, 130.
 Goldziher, I. 41, 42, 44, 97
 Golius, J. 115
 González, J. 7
 Gonzalez Dávila, G. 105, 138, 144
 González Diez, E. 59
 Gonzálvez, R. 7
 Granada 3, 9, 10, 12-14, 16, 19,
 50, 65, 80, 82, 83, 131,
 142, 165, 174, 187, 197,
 204
 Granja, F. de la 8, 51
 Grapius, Z. 194
 Greeks 90
 Grunebaum, G.E. von 34
 Guadalajara 61, 67, 83, 89, 93
 Guevara, A. de 191
 Guidili, Iza (=Yça of Segovia) 135
 Guillén Robles, F.R. 63
 Gutas, D. 103
 al-Ḥaḍjar al-aḥmar 187
 al-Ḥaḍjarī, Ahmad b. Qāsim
 187-189, 193
 al-Ḥaffār (muftī) 83
 Hafšids 44, 97
 Hajji, M. 56, 193
ḥakīm 53, 54
 Hamete, maestre 89
 Hanafi-Maturidites 103
 Hanafites 32, 104, 190
 Harvey, L.P. 1, 2, 13, 16, 17, 23,
 24, 26, 43, 57, 92, 94, 95,
 107, 108, 120, 123, 133,
 151-153, 161, 162, 169,
 175, 183, 193, 205
Ḥaṣḥwiyya 103
 Hazis Bejarano 88
 Heawood, E. 115, 117, 119
 Heger, K. 38
 Hegyi, O. 2, 28
 Hermandad 81
 Hermannus Teutonicus 48
 Hernández Montes, B. 69, 72, 107
 Hernández, T. 213
 Hippocrates 55
 Hocein maestre 86
 Hoenerbach, W. 83, 93, 146, 173
 Hornachos 89
 Horst, K. van der 28
 Huesca 64
 Huici de Miranda, A. 39-41
 Hungary 90
 Hurtado de Mendoza, D. 61
 ʿĪsā b. Maryam 127
 Ibn ʿAbdūn, Muḥammad 33, 47
 Ibn Abī Zarʿ 40
 Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī 62, 63,
 67, 82, 116, 122, 130, 131,
 156, 169, 204
 Ibn al-Abbār 42
 Ibn ʿArabī, Muḥyī al-dīn, 166
 Ibn al-Aṣḥqar 52
 Ibn al-Djallab 82, 111, 118, 204
 Ibn al-Djawzī 172
 Ibn al-Kardabūs 6
 Ibn al-Khaṭīb 49, 50
 Ibn al-Muʿallim 38
 Ibn al-Qāḍī 42, 87
 Ibn Andarās 49, 53, 56
 Ibn Andarās, Yūsuf 53
 Ibn ʿĀṣim 5
 Ibn Biklārīsh 37
 Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī 146
 Ibn ʿArafa 53
 Ibn Djuldjul 37
 Ibn Farḥūn 53
 Ibn Garcíá 33
 Ibn Hazm 29

- Ibn Hudhayl 54, 55, 87
 Ibn Kathīr 129
 Ibn Khaldūn, °Abd al-Raḥmān 4,
 38, 41, 42, 128
 Ibn Lubāba 209
 Ibn Luyūn 38
 Ibn Maryam 53
 Ibn Miqlāsh 83
 Ibn Nubāta 205
 Ibn Raṣḥīq 8, 51
 Ibn Ruṣhd, Abu 'l-Walīd al-djadd 1,
 14, 30, 31, 33, 36, 206
 Ibn Ruṣhd, al-Hafīd 52
 Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk 38-39
 Ibn Tarkāt 86
 Ibn Tūda 187
 Ibn Tūmart 14, 25, 40-44, 93, 154,
 157, 161
 Ibn Wāṣil 49
 Ibrāhīm 128, 179
 Ibrāhīm b. °Alī b. Farāsh Ruy Díaz
 59, 82
 Imru' al-Qays 55
 India 46
 Inquisition 10, 11, 17, 90, 116,
 182, 201, 210, 212
 Isidorus of Seville 92, 128
 Ismā'īl 179
 Isquierdo, Ibrahim 203
 Italy 28, 90
 °Iyād b. Mūsā al-Sabtī al-Qāḍī 189,
 190
 Jaén 165
 Jaime I (king) 8
 Jean de Roquetaillade 90
 Jerusalem 127, 129
 Jews 12, 37, 38, 47, 48, 77,
 79-81, 83, 90, 96, 98,
 126, 130, 137, 157, 162
 Jiménez de Cisneros, Francisco 9
 Jiménez, Rodrigo 44
 Jong, F. de 102
 Juan Alonso (Aragonés) 186, 191,
 192, 196
 Juan de Heredia 86
 Juan de Nieva 86
 Juan de Rokasia (see also Jean de
 Roquetaillade) 90, 126,
 127, 130, 133
 Juan de Segovia 17, 23, 25, 27, 69,
 71, 75, 80, 92, 95, 98, 100,
 104, 112, 114, 115, 129,
 140, 143, 146, 208
 Juan de Villaviciosa 105
 Juan I (king) 61
 Juan II (king) 17, 61, 69, 70, 88
 Juan López (Morisco) 119
 Juan López de Salamanca 75, 134,
 136-138, 140, 151, 204
 Juynboll, Th.W. 31, 212
 Ka°b al-Aḥbār 164
 Kaeppli, T. 136
 Kalavera, Muḥammad 83
 Kamstra, J.H. 198
 Kaptein, N.J.G. 149
 Karp, J. 28, 62, 68, 121
 Kassin, L.J. 64
 Khadduri, M. 34, 35
 Khalīl ibn Ishāq al-Djundī 212
khardja 37-39
 Khumayt 38
 al-Khushanī, Abū °Abd Allāh
 Muḥammad 29, 39
 Klenk, U. 33
 Kolonya 90
 Koningsveld, P.S. van 4, 8, 37, 48,
 49, 52, 53, 63, 109, 124,
 147, 173, 182, 199, 200
 Kontzi, R. 93, 153, 182, 185, 202,
 207
 Kordilero, °Abd al-°Azīz 201
 Kordilero, Muḥammad 201

- kuttāb* 83
 Labarta, A. 17, 63, 142, 145
 Ladero Quesada, M.A. 7, 9, 13, 46, 80, 84, 85, 88, 134
 Lane, E. 55
 Larache 186
 Latham, J.D. 1, 30
 Le Tourneau, R. 40
 Leo of Rozmital 141
 Lérida 66
 Levi della Vida, G. 53, 182
 Lévi-Provençal, E. 1, 6, 38, 76
 Lichačew, N.P. 62, 115, 119, 185
 Lincoln, J.N. 22, 90
 Lisbon 187
 Llaguno y Amirola, E. 79
 Lombardy 90
 Longas, P. 108
 Lope de Vega 190
 Lope, mestre 88, 89, 148
 López-Baralt, L. 92
 López de Ayala, P. 6, 61
 López Mata, E. 59
 López-Morillas, C. 2, 25, 28, 43, 108-111, 151, 154
 López Ortiz, J. 4, 5
 Low Countries 192, 194, 195
 Lucera 49
 Lucquet, G.H. 49
 Macdonald, D.B. 83
 Macho y Ortega, F. 82
 Mackay, A. 6
 Madelung, W. 127
madrasa 50-52, 78, 165
 Madrid 16, 84, 85, 88, 89, 187, 213
al-mahdī, Mahdism (see also: *al-Fātimī*) 91, 127-128
 Mahomad de Talavera 89
 Mahomad Montero 77
 Mahomat de Sevilla (see also Ibn Andarās) 56
 Mahomat el Xartosse 61
 Maimonides 98
 Málaga 163, 165
 Mālik b. Anas 58, 169, 208, 209
 Malikites 32, 42, 58, 82, 122
 Al-Ma'mūn ibn al-Mansūr (Almohad caliph) 42
 Mancebo de Arévalo, el 15, 17, 24, 143-145, 152, 153, 160, 162-165, 170, 173, 174, 183, 204, 209
 Manfred (king) 48
 Manšūr b. Nūḥ (Samanid ruler) 103
 al-Manūnī, Muḥammad 42, 56
 Manzanares de Cirre, M. 18, 19, 21, 22, 177
 al-Maqqarī, *Shihāb al-dīn* Abu 'l-^ʿAbbās 50, 81
 Marbella 87
 Marçais, G. 186
 Margiolouth, D.S. 147
 Mark of Toledo 44
 el Marqués de Lozoya 81
 Márquez Villanueva, F. 21-22, 185
 Marrakesh 38, 188, 195
 al-Marrākushī, Abū Muḥammad ^ʿAbd al-Wāhid 38, 39, 41
 Martel, Esteban 163
 Martín, R. 3
 Martínez de Osma 135, 137
 Martínez Ripoll, A. 51
 Martínez Ruiz, J. 66
 Mašmūda, Banū 41, 42
 Massé, H. 41, 97
 Matías de San Francisco 192
 Maurice (Dutch prince) 194
 Mauritius, magister 44
mawlid 60, 150, 182
mawlid al-nabī 149

- mawlidiyya* 182
 al-Māzarī 82
 Mecca 127, 211
 McGinn, B. 129
 Medina 127
 Medina del Campo 69, 89
 Medinaceli 83
 Medinasidonia, duke of 188
 Medrano, M.J. de 51
 Menéndez Pidal, G. 48, 52
 Menéndez Pidal, M. 6, 13, 16, 22, 28, 33, 198
 Mercier, L. 54, 56
 Messianism 130, 133
 Mexía, Pedro de 190
 Michaelus Scotus 49
 Middle East 46
 Miguel Rodríguez, J.C. de 85, 89
 Millares Carlo, A. 84
Mizwār 193
monffes 11
 Monroe, J. 4, 19, 21, 33, 38
 Monter, W. 118, 175
 Mora Zayda 6
 Morel Fatio, A. 11, 93, 175
 Morgan, J. 18, 183, 186
 Moreno 22
 Morf 22
 Morocco 11, 45, 56, 188, 192, 193
 Mosin, V. 117
 Mozarabs 6, 48
 Mu'nis, H. 30
 al-Mu'tamid (taifa ruler of Seville) 7, 38
 Mu'tazila 103
mufit 5, 12, 24, 31, 53, 82, 83, 87, 132, 139, 146, 147, 149
 Muḥammad (translator) 49
 Muḥammad II al-Faqīh (Naṣrid sultan) 50
muqri' 146
 al-Murābiṭī, Muḥammad 12
 al-Murābiṭī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad 83
 Murcia 7, 8, 50, 51, 53, 89
 Muslim 208
 al-Mustanṣir (Hafṣid caliph) 53
muwashshah 37-39
 Müller, M.J. 93, 207
 Naḍīdjār, A.M. 40, 41, 98
 Naples 90
 Narváez, M.T. 152, 174
 Naṣrids 3, 50
 Navarre 9
 Nebuchadnezzar 128, 169
 Nederehe, H.-J. 52
 Nieto 22
nisba 144, 149
 Nūḥ (Noah) 128
 Nwyia, P. 146
 Obbema, P. 57
 Ocaña 66, 165
 Oliver Asín, J. 190, 213
 Olmedo 141
 Omar, alfaquí 142
 Oran 83
 Ottoman Empire 11, 203
 Oxford 193
 Padwick, C. 156
 Palencia, Alonso de 140, 149
 Palestine 90, 128, 129
 Pardo Martínez, J.A. 59
parias 4, 131
 Paris 56, 90, 189
 Party-kings 2, 3, 5, 29, 40
 Pastrana 193
 Pavia 92
 Pearson, J.D. 17
 Pedro de Muncharas 149
 Pedro I (king) 61
 Pedro Pascual 72
 Pellat, Ch. 29, 33

- Penella Roma, J. 188
 Peres, H. 37
 Petit, R. 184
 Petrola 64
 Phillips, W.D. 141
 Piccolomini, Enea Silvio (Pope) 71
 Pieri, H. 187, 213
 Pimentel, L. de 134
 Pisa 90
 Pius II (Pope) 71
 Plasencia 88
 Plasencia, duke of 75, 134, 138, 140
 Portugal 187
 al-Qashshāsh, Abu 'l-Ghayth 186, 213
 qāṣṣ 33
 Qatāda 165
 al-Qaysī, Muḥammad (faqīh from Tunis) 65
 al-Qaysī, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (*alcalde mayor*) 147, 155
 Quintanilla Raso, M.C. 134
 Rabadan, Muḥammad 15, 24, 43, 151, 153, 181, 183, 203, 205, 211
 al-Raghīlī, Yaḥyā 64
 Raymundus Lullus 95, 98, 129
 al-Rāzī 55
 Redondo, A. 138
 Reinhardt, K. 135
 Relandus, A. 17
 renegades 192
 repartidor 88, 89, 148
 Requena 165
 Ribera y Tarragó, J. 11, 19, 23, 27, 119, 171
 Ricote 80
 Du Rieu 103
 Rincón, °Abdelkarim Juan del 183, 211
 al-Riqūfī, Muḥammad 49, 50, 67
 Robert of Ketton 70, 72
 Robson, J. 32
 Rodrigo el Rubio 11
 Rodríguez, I. 135
 Romano, D. 52
 Rome 69, 90
 Ronda 165
 Rosenthal, F. 182
 Rreminđjo, Baray 145, 152, 161-163, 170
 Rubiera, M.J. 39
 Rubio, Mohamed 190
 Rubio, Rodrigo el 202
 Rucquoi, A. 125, 140
 Rueda de Jalón 203
 Ruiz Hernando, J.A. 76, 79, 86
 Saavedra, E. 18, 21, 27, 63 67, 93, 108, 110, 121, 153, 154, 186, 211
 Sachs, G. 55
 Sacy, S. de 18, 43, 175
 Sáez, E. 147, 155
 Saez, L. 134, 136, 138, 147
 Salamanca 69, 72, 137, 138
 Salé 188
 Sālim b. Salāma al-Sūsī al-Maghribī 42
 Salmi, A. 182
 Salonika 203
 Salvador, E. 12
 al-Samarqandī, Abu 'l-Layth ('ḥamarqandil') 152, 176, 177, 180, 181, 203
 al-Samarrai, Q. 200
 Sanches de Talauera, Ferran 61
 Sánchez Alvarez, M. 90, 91
 Sancho IV (king) 58
 Sanders, H.A. 128
 al-Sanūsī 94
 al-Saraqusfī 5

- Sarmiento, °Alī 165
 Sarnelli Cerqua, C. 187
 Savoy 24, 70
 Scales, P. 6
 Schacht, J. 83, 87
 Schimmel, A. 46, 129, 146, 182
 Schmitz 22
 Sebastian (king of Pprtugal) 187
 Segovia 13, 16, 19, 24, 71, 76, 79,
 80, 85, 89, 101, 105, 118,
 125, 135, 141, 143, 144,
 147-149, 155, 165, 201,
 204
 Sepúlveda 147, 155
 Seville 32, 38, 45, 51-53
 al-Shabilī, Yūsuf 83
Shādhilīyya 145, 146, 150
 al-Shāfiʿī, Muḥammad b. Idrīs
 34-36, 206
Sharʿa 4, 57, 104, 156, 173, 198
 al-Shātībī 4
 al-Shaybānī 32
shuʿūbiyya 33, 40
 Sicily 5, 47, 49
 Siena 90
 Simancas, Archivo General de 142
 Simonet, F. 37
 Singer, H.R. 187
 Sivan, E. 129
 Slane, baron de 41-43
 Smitskamp, R. 194
 Sourthern, R.W. 17
 St. Jean de Maurienne 70, 71
 Stanley, H.E.J. 181
 Steiger, A. 144
 Steinschneider, M. 194, 195
 Stern, S. 37
 Stolz, H. 198
 Sufism 46, 102, 129, 147, 182
 al-Sulamī 126, 128
 Sulaymān 128
 al-Suyūṭī, Djalāl al-dīn 189, 190
 al-Tabarī 103
Tafstr 1, 12, 103, 104, 106, 107,
 109, 112, 114, 151, 164,
 173
 Talavera, Hernando de 9
 al-Talīlī, M. 30
ṭarīqa (see also: Sufism) 145, 146
 Taybili, Ybrahim 189, 190, 193,
 196
 Templars 66
 Teres Sádaba, E. 64
 Terreria 12, 83
 Testour 183, 186, 189
 Tetouan 191
 Tetzl 141
 Thomas à Kempis 153, 164, 166
 Tibawi, A.L. 32, 34, 103, 104,
 208
 Ticknor, G. 20, 211
 Toledo 5-7, 15, 48, 56, 85, 88, 89,
 165, 191
 Torellas 118
 Tormo y Monzó, E. 149
 Torres Balbás, L. 140
 Torres Fontes, J. 8, 53, 84, 85, 89
 al-Tulayṭulī 156
 Tunis 1, 53, 183, 186, 188, 190,
 192, 212, 213
 Tunisia 11, 44, 53, 97
 al-Turkī, °Abd al-Maǧǧīd 5, 193
 Turks 26, 27, 70, 90, 91, 130, 190
 Tyan, E. 30
 Umarbāi 166
 Umayyads 2
 Vajda, G. 44, 126
 Valencia 7, 10, 17, 45, 60, 64, 90,
 165, 187
 Valladolid 12, 82, 89, 125, 141
 Valls i Subirà, O. 62, 66, 117,
 119, 173, 185

- Vargas Ponce, J. 52, 56
 Vázquez Siruela, M. 115
 Venice 203
 Vernet, J. 107
 Vicente Ferrer 80, 105, 136
 Viguera, M.J. 63, 83
 Villafeliche 111, 117, 118, 190
 Vincent, B. 184, 192
 Vones, L. 81
 Waardenburg, J. 198
waʿz 172, 209
 Waharan, Brahen 201
 Waharan, Muṣṭafar 201
 al-Walīd b. Zaydān (Saʿdid sultan)
 188
 al-Wanṣharīsī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā 3,
 5, 6, 30, 42, 86, 87, 206,
 208, 209, 212
 Wasserstein, D. 3, 6, 30
 al-Wazzānī 86
 Wensinck, A.J. 95, 104, 207
 Wiegers, G.A. 2, 9, 93, 99, 193
 Wijnman, H.F. 194
 Xadel 145
 Xadel, maestro 149
 Xedel, Brahen 145
 Ximena 149
 Yaḥyā b. Bāqī 38
 Yanayr 29
 Yuça de Segovia, maestre 88
 Yuçaf, maestre 89
 Yūsuf b. al-Mawl (Granadan prince)
 69
 Yūsuf Day 193
 Yūsuf ibn Tashūfīn 7
 Yuzaf Talavera 77
zadīal 37
 Zafo Andado 89
 Zallāqa 7
 Zapater y Gómez, F. 119
 Zaragoza 78, 118, 119, 162, 165,

171

Zárate 17, 116

Zaydān, Mawlāy (Saʿdid sultan)

188, 194

Zaytouna mosque 66

Zonghi 185

MEDIEVAL IBERIAN PENINSULA

TEXTS AND STUDIES

EDITED BY

RACHEL ARIÉ AND HANS-RUDOLF SINGER

1. *Le calendrier de Cordoue*. Publié par R. DOZY. Nouvelle édition, accompagnée d'une traduction française annotée par Ch. PELLAT. 1961. ISBN 90 04 00486 6
2. IMAMUDDIN, S.M. *Muslim Spain 711-1492 A.D.* A Sociological Study. 2nd edition 1981. ISBN 90 04 06131 2
3. MONROE, J.T. *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship (Sixteenth Century to the Present)*. 1970. Out of print.
4. GALLEGO BLANCO, E. *The Rule of the Spanish Military Order of St. James 1170-1493*. Latin and Spanish Texts, edited with apparatus criticus, English translation and a preliminary study by Enrique Gallego Blanco. 1971. ISBN 90 04 02665 7
5. TIBI, A.T. (ed.). *The Tibyān*. Memoirs of 'Abd Allāh b. Buluggin, Last Zirid Amir of Granada. Translated from the Emended Arabic Text and Provided with Introduction, Notes and Comments by Amin T. Tibi. 1986. ISBN 90 04 07669 7
6. ARIÉ, R. *Études sur la civilisation de l'Espagne musulmane*. 1986. ISBN 90 04 091165
7. SCHIPPERS, A. *Spanish Hebrew Poetry and the Arabic Literary Tradition*. Arabic Themes in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry. 1994. ISBN 90 04 09869 0
8. WIEGERS, G. *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado*. Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), His Antecedents and Successors. 1994. ISBN 90 04 09936 0